THE NEW REPUBLIC

Fall Book Review

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Nixon: Ebb Tide & Intrigue

by William Costello

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T.R.B. *from Washington*

A Fine New Bugbear

★ America has a new president, he is Texas-born, soft-spoken, banker-industrialist Robert B. Anderson, Secretary of the Treasury. First president in the Eisenhower Administration was George Humphrey; then for a while Sherman Adams had the job. Now it is Anderson, attractive, 49, conservative. He has brought the Administration round from its preliminary 1958 anti-inflation drive to its final "Buy America" protectionist swing. Anderson is affecting our defense and foreign policies. He is the most powerful figure in the Cabinet.

First the bugbear was inflation. That emerged after the Democratic mid-term sweep. It was a fine bugbear and kept the Democratic Congress cowed. The result – ? Well, here is *New York Times* military expert Hanson W. Baldwin explaining last week why America is losing the race for space: "The space program does not have enough [money] to get there 'first with the most', and the fault is both that of the Administration and of Congress." Too much spending would bring inflation, you see. It would unbalance the budget.

Now the new bugbear is an "adverse trade balance." Get used to the phrase, you will hear a lot of it. "Inflation" was a fine business argument against wage demands. Now the new slogan is a wonderful argument for high tariffs, reduced foreign aid, retreat from world responsibilities. Congress will in all probability lap it up.

There can be no doubt of what is going on. The stories are being leaked "from high sources" and "reliable officials." They are authentic. Secretary Herter himself is one of the informants. Every Washington embassy knows it. Cuts in foreign aid and arms aid are coming. We have already tied a "Buy America" string to our Development Loan Fund credits. We are getting tough with foreign countries on trade barriers and quotas (while keeping our own quotas on lead, zinc, oil, wool and the like). The Administration of course does not mean this drive to get out of hand any more than it wanted its anti-inflation drive to get out of hand. The trouble is that the Congressional protectionists will have their own interpretation.

Let's put the foreign trade situation into simple terms. The US still sells abroad a great deal more goods than it buys (about $18 billion to $13 billion). But it also sends dollars abroad for foreign aid, armed services, and the investments of businessmen (for instance, in Canada). These are all lumped under "payments" in the international trade balance sheet and amount to around $7 billion. There are some offsets but the over-all balance is "adverse."

Eisenhower has repeatedly, yes, and eloquently, stressed the value of foreign aid and offshore defense. They are important – just as are dollars spent in the space race. But the danger is (and here is where Anderson's philosophy comes in) that we will wreck the dollar. Space – ? foreign aid – ? We must look at national self-preservation through a banker's eyes.

Pressure or Panic?

★ This isn't to say that the story is completely one-sided. It is high time, for example, that prosperous Europe and Japan took on more responsibility for aiding industrially backward countries. Some of their restrictions on our trade are irritating. But the attitude in the nation's capital goes beyond pressure. It is nothing short of panicky.

We could meet this problem by higher taxes if we cared to. We don't care to. So the adverse balances have been financed, in effect, by exporting gold from Fort Knox. We are buying national safety out of capital rather than income. The US supply of gold – still half of the free world's – has dropped from something around $23 billion in 1957 to around $19.5 billion today. Anderson tallies it in alarm and warns Eisenhower. It is a variant of the old "dollar-is-threatened" line of inflation.

So the world's richest nation, which has been so prudent as to fall behind in space, is now going to be prudent as well in its foreign economic policy.

Make-Believe Everything

★ This reporter, for his sins, got on to a television panel last week. Even after some experience the make-believe world is stupefying. Maybe that is why so many contestants in the rigged quiz shows uttered no protest. One enters the affluent, ultra-modern building with its suave directors and svelte hostesses.

Everyone is smiling and glib. Then comes the station studio, a huge unreal barn-like place like the wings of a stage. It has no ceiling at all; just shadows. Odds and ends of incongruous props stand about – over there a canvas-painted country store; nearer, a pile of marionettes; in the distance an obscure cavern with strange menacing objects and a spiraling iron stairway to some unknown region above. Lights blind you, men trundle cameras towards you and away again, long booms with dangling microphones swing suddenly at you, a collar and a cord is put around your neck with another mike. The program director has told you that every employee on the floor, even the one who pushes the camera dolly, gets a minimum of $200 a week. The talk is all of millions – profits, advertisements, audiences. Then the moment comes, the little ferret eye of the camera turns red; your lip is dry, your stomach quakes and you are asked to talk seriously of serious things. Maybe with experience one can retain identity in this murky world. But the values are all confused, canvas becomes reality and debate "entertainment."

If to this horror were added the hope of sudden wealth or of a fat fee in any case, is there much doubt that the bewildered participant would fall into the squalid spirit of the thing and accept make-believe morals along with make-believe everything else?

Lyndon's Chances

★ It is hard to take Lyndon Johnson's Presidential boom seriously or to believe he takes it seriously. With all allowance for his real talents, he is still identified with gas and oil interests and with a state tied to the one-party South on civil rights (one which, incidentally, has a right to work law).

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The Constitution and the federal courts may prove a recourse of at least one oppressed majority, as well as of oppressed minorities. This majority lives in our cities and the surrounding suburban areas. It is increasingly disfranchised because dwindling rural minorities hold on grimly to their control of state legislatures. In many states, the representatives of one-third or less of the people make up a majority of the members of at least one house of the legislature. This is government minus the consent of large numbers of the governed, and how long it prevails may depend upon the Supreme Court's decisions in test cases now pending in federal courts and involving voters' complaints in Tennessee and Florida.

The character of Congress as well as the character of state legislatures is directly affected. It is the state legislatures which carve out the Congressional districts, and which have established rural Congressional districts with far fewer people than urban Congressional districts, thus contravening the intent of the Founding Fathers to base membership in the House of Representatives on population alone. South Dakota, for example, has one Congressional district containing less than 160,000 people – by the 1950 census – while its other district has nearly 500,000. Michigan has one district containing less than 180,000 people; another with 525,000. Colorado has one district of less than 175,000 people, another with 415,000.

Disparities in representation are even greater in state legislatures themselves, being carried to ridiculous extremes where one district will have several hundred times as many people as another with exactly the same representation in the legislature. (The worst disparity in the country is in Connecticut, where the town of Union, population 261, has the same number of representatives in the lower house as the city of Hartford, population 177,397 – a ratio of 682 to 1.)

Where ruralities in states bother to apologize for this inequality, they do so by invoking the old agrarian mystique of the wise countryman defending the old virtues against the slick and superficial city dweller. They conceive of the latter as wards, with the reins of government to be held firmly in their own steadier hands. The "wards," however, are required to pay a large share of the state's bills, without in turn receiving the help they deserve and need from the state. Rural counties draw on the cities for much of their financial support and successfully resist, in the legislatures they dominate, most attempts at its redivision. This forces the cities to go to the federal government

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and ask for money; whereupon they are accused by ruralities of always "running to Uncle Sam." And a rural bloc in the Congress, encouraged by a budget-balancing Administration, sees that cities are *not* spoiled by Uncle Sam with over-generous appropriations for urban renewal, adequate water supplies or prevention of juvenile delinquency.

But the consequences of urban under-representation are more than fiscal. Rural-dominated legislatures are often reluctant to assist the cities even where an outlay of funds is only very indirectly involved, as in refusing the cities power to impose new taxes of their own to meet expenses. There are also far-reaching political consequences, such as the strengthening of urban (usually Democratic) party machines. This occurs because, as a by-product of unequal representation and gerrymandering, many districts become "safe" for one party, and the safer they are the more prone they become to fatty degeneration, if not corruption. In these districts, the real contests are in the primaries where machine power can be exerted far more effectively than in general elections.

Most state constitutions call for a legislative redistricting after each federal decennial census. But usually this mandate has either been ignored, in some cases since the 19th Century, or the barest token redistricting has left ruralities in effective control of legislatures despite their declining numbers. And since state courts generally hold that the state legislature is supreme in its own province, they have not compelled redistricting.

The new development is that federal courts in several instances have held that the plight of under-represented urban dwellers comes within the scope of the Constitution and of its prohibition of unequal treatment under law. This is a judicial departure. Heretofore federal courts have treated the inequity as a "political" matter, and not one for courts. But a federal court in Hawaii recently decided otherwise, and the territorial legislature responded by passing a reapportionment act which was at least fairer to city dwellers than its predecessors. A second case was in Minnesota where a three-judge federal court held last year that it had jurisdiction of the question, but said in effect that since the federal government should intervene in state affairs only as a last resort, it would wait and see what the 1959 Minnesota legislature did. The legislature thereupon allocated five more seats in the State Senate to the Twin Cities, and 10 more House seats, besides enlarging the House by four members to give more representation to other metropolitan districts in Minnesota. Formerly the smallest House district had 7,300 persons, the largest 107,000 by the 1950 census; the smallest State Senate district had 16,870 people and the largest, 155,000. Before the redistricting, the most populous House district had 37 times as many people as the least populous. Now the worst disparity in Minnesota is only four to one.

In Tennessee a suit was instituted on the same basis as in Minnesota. It is still pending, but, just as in Minnesota, a federal court has turned down a defense plea to dismiss the case on the grounds that no federal question was involved. This suit may turn out to be more important than Minnesota's, for in Minnesota the case was dropped (at least for the time being) after the legislature reapportioned, and the federal court never did get a chance to make a ruling. In Tennessee, the legislature has not acted and the matter is still very much alive at last report. Another similar action was brought in Florida, but there the court did dismiss the case. The plaintiffs have appealed, and the matter will be brought before the federal court in New Orleans sometime this winter.

Such state action, whether it brings complete justice or not, forestalls federal intervention or at least mitigates the charge of complete state indifference to majority rights. Where there has been at least token legislative redistricting, or where the people themselves have spoken, as in Colorado where voters rejected a constitutional amendment for representation in both houses based entirely on number, the federal courts might not act. But where there has been complete inaction, or where such inaction prevails after 1960 despite the census showing of increasing inequality of representation both in state legislatures and in Congress, the under-represented voter may be able to turn with some confidence to the federal courts for relief.

Moon Pictures

There are no figures on the number of Christopher Columbus' countrymen who shared his curiosity about what lay on the other side of the Atlantic. Were there some who thought it might be better not to know? Or many who thought the outfitting of the *Nina, Pinta* and *Santa Maria* was an extravagant gamble? Nor do we know whether, deep down inside, plain American citizens yearn to know more about the planets, more than the poets can tell them. We would guess, however, that the yearning is not overpowering and that the public is not going to repudiate the Eisenhower Administration because an American camera didn't take the first snapshots of the heretofore shy backside of the moon.

Space experts feel differently. They are more curious and impatient. They also realize more than the rest of us how remarkable an achievement the Soviet Lunik III is. Most of them would not have predicted that the Russians would at this time be able to take, process and transmit back to earth photographs of the other side of the moon. The feat establishes Russian dominance in long-range instrumentation and transmission techniques, just as Lunik I and II established supremacy of the Russians in rocketry and guidance for long-range

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space exploration. The Soviet successes seem to have barely bruised the American ego at its most sensitive point – the assumption that America can produce a better gadget faster than anyone. Our confidence has not been shaken. Nor our faith in our father who is in the White House. We shall some day have our moon pictures and a balanced budget, too. And the House Space Committee has promised to look into the space lag. Next January.

Nehru and the Chinese

Once in India there was a cobra who held whole villages in terror. Many humble Hindus died of his bite until an itinerant holy man, beseeched by the villagers to talk to the snake, made his most celebrated convert to the teachings of *ahimsa* (nonviolence). The cobra became so mild that doubting – and in some cases vindictive – villagers put the snake's conversion to the test with clubbings that left him black and blue. But the cobra got little sympathy from the holy man, who pointed out, on passing by a year later, that the cobra had misunderstood him. "I didn't say not to *hiss*." Or so goes the old Sanskrit tale.

What makes their developing conflict with China so desperate for the Indians is precisely that no one thinks hissing sounds will scare the intruder away. There is little conviction that anything Mr. Nehru now says or might have said can avert an inevitable chain reaction of military retaliation (and casualty lists on both sides). The Chinese seem determined to bring this about for reasons of their own. And what makes it all so excruciating for Mr. Nehru personally is that in choosing Ladakh for their main stand, the Chinese have challenged the Indian Premier where he is most vulnerable and must in the end do battle.

Until Chinese mortars and hand grenades killed nine Indians at Kong Ka pass last week, as the prelude to Peking's October 30 claim to 6,000 square miles of Ladakh territory, Mr. Nehru stood on strong personal and political ground. Throughout August and September his China policy was, politically speaking, vindicated. The onus for the trouble was wholly on the Chinese, and Indian public opinion rallied behind him with such unanimity that the distraught Indian Communists were split down the middle. Many Indians, including most of Mr. Nehru's critics, thought that the first Chinese incursions into the Northeast Frontier Agency would be the last and that retaliatory military action might not be necessary. Mr. Nehru's judgment was not generally questioned; he remained, as in the past, in full charge of Indian policy. The one serious political disaster for Mr. Nehru was, however, his disclosure that he had known since 1957 that the Chinese were building a road across northeast Ladakh and yet had not confided in his people. It will never be quite the same for the Prime Minister. A slow-burning realization of the importance of this lapse has destroyed the once unquestioned confidence in his judgment, the special honesty and rapport of his leadership, and has denied him real power to do anything but retaliate in Ladakh unless the Chinese should suddenly reverse their field.

If Chinese bellicosity should now come to an unexpected end the most plausible explanation will be that Mr. Khrushchev was responsible. But this seems improbable. Here is a case in which Soviet national interests are not directly or crucially engaged – *i.e.*, in which a US-USSR clash is not likely short of total hostilities – and in which the Chinese have room for maneuver. The prospect is, as Mr. Nehru said on November 1, that the challenge of Chinese aggression, already "a big question . . . may become much bigger." And just as the USSR is likely to have a marginal role in determining the events ahead, so the US is involved only indirectly. The US interest in South Asia lies in a solvent New Delhi government which can support an Indian defense effort, and in an improving Indo-Pakistan relationship which will permit some form of institutionalized staff talks between the Indian and Pakistan military commands. As this journal has argued, the US has for the past five years impeded Indo-Pakistan military coordination through its unilateral military ties to Pakistan: the most that the US can do now is to get out of the way, so that the very competent Indian and Pakistan generals can do their job.

Helping Those Who . . .

There are two ways of looking at the Soviet trade and aid drive in the Middle East. One is as an intrusion, and a threat; the other is to see it as a natural development, and a challenge. Senator Humphrey, who has just had a short study of it printed as a Senate document, needs thanks for jogging our elbow, but too much of the phraseology suggests that the Soviets have a monopoly of successful dealings with the Arab. For instance, one sentence of the report runs: "[The Soviet Union] has penetrated deeply into the Arab Middle East by use of peacetime methods against which no deterrents would have been effectual that did not suggest the possible use of force." But this is not so, and the US can do something more robust than just await "signs of disenchantment" with Russian methods.

So far as straight trade is concerned, the Middle East is on the doorstep of the USSR, and so is a natural trading partner. It is not a Western preserve; it only happened to be so during the few decades when the Soviets were busy at home. Iron Curtain or no Iron Curtain, Turkey trades vigorously with the Balkans, and north Iran sells its rice and tea in Russia. Now that the Soviets

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are entering the field of foreign trade, they will naturally try to encourage this tendency and expand its radius. Who wouldn't? And surely they are better engaged in rubbing shoulders with the world and acquiring a vested interest in its businesses than in plotting self-sufficiency within their own citadel. If the West meets their Middle Eastern competition in good heart, it need not lose its present preponderance there. In 1958-59, the trader who has gained most ground in the Middle East is not the Soviet Union; it is West Germany.

To be sure, Soviet aid quite unabashedly seeks to pin down Arabs to trading in a special direction; but is it, in that, so different from American aid? The Soviets have favorites – Egypt, Syria, Afghanistan, Yemen and now also Iraq; but so have we – Turkey, Iran, Israel. They give, in theory, more economic aid, but in practice so far they give more arms, because all the military credits are taken up at once, and the economic credits are not. We too have given a preponderance of military aid to the area as a whole (though not to the Arabs, because of Israel).

But there the parallel ends. US aid at its height, which was during the Dulles era, was governed by the Korean War psychosis and by fear of World War III, whereas aid Russia is giving seems to be motivated more by a desire to keep little local antagonisms on the boil, local minds busy with anti-Westernism and a climate going for Communism. In any case, the volume of economic help they have offered to date is far too small for serious economic development.

The very much larger US amounts have not produced much serious economic development in the Middle East either. Happily, however, there is at the moment much agonized thinking going on about changes of method in order to produce better value for the money. Briefly, the idea is that Santa Claus techniques were no good, and that what is needed for the development of underdeveloped peoples bent on "positive neutrality" is better do-it-yourself kits. The best summary for the layman of this new socio-economic thinking is in the current issue of *Foreign Affairs* from the pens of Professors Millikan and Rostow.

Though our old methods did not succeed, neither are the Russians succeeding in helping give the ordinary person in the underdeveloped world what he really wants, which is economic development first and foremost. Why not reckon that if the Soviet drive retains its present direction, we can turn it to account if we use it as a chance to become the prime stimulators of self-help programs that appeal to the "broad masses"? Of course, we could be much subtler about such a plan if it did not have to be discussed in the newspapers and our whole hand thus exposed from the start. But that drawback must be put up with, for if we do not promote Western investments in these shaky countries, they will never stop shaking until they topple to Communism.

Trick or Treat

If there is one poor soul in any of the 50 states who doesn't know by now that the public has been tricked on television, he deserves to be preserved as a national curiosity in the Smithsonian. Charles Van Doren's testimony in Washington has added another, but not the last, paragraph to a sorry story of an industry that earns its living by palming off make-believe as reality. The make-believe to which we refer is not the one created by the fixers of allegedly spontaneous quiz shows, but to that of advertising, for its pretends to be *real*.

Sincere, straight-forward ladies and gentlemen, often highly-paid theatrical celebrities, appear on the screen to tell us that life is a shabby thing without *their* product. In dulcet or hortatory tones, they insist on the superiority, the uniqueness, the miraculous *newness* of this or that beauty cream, car, cigarette filter, or a beer that beats creation itself.

All this nonsense has suddenly come to the distressed attention of the Federal Trade Commission. In the wake of the Van Doren affair, FTC Chairman Earl Wilson Kintner has announced that the Commission is going to be doing what innocent people assumed it had been doing: it will monitor the TV networks and "any advertising of doubtful integrity will be investigated."

But if honesty were the required policy for advertising, where would advertising be? And not merely on television? Is newspaper and magazine advertising also to be monitored? It might not be a bad idea, if one could depend on the good taste and judgment of the monitors. The public would be amused, if nothing else, if there were to be official FTC reports publicizing some of the excessive or contradictory claims made by advertisers. With the help of alert monitors, more people would appreciate that "James Boswell, Alexander Pope and Sir Walter Scott . . . saw eye-to-eye on one thing – White Horse, of course, the greatest Scotch in history!" Or, for instance, the public's attention should be called to the ad of America's Independent Electric Light and Power Companies in *Time* of October 19, in which private power is praised and the reader is asked to "remember this difference the next time you hear somebody beating the drums for more federal government power systems. When they win, *you* lose."

"There's nothing [we know] so refreshing as Spring." But does the FTC know that "Spring's exclusive electronic process creates hundreds of microscopic openings over the entire surface of the cigarette to 'air-condition' the smoke?" Or that though Wolf's Head Oil is "outstandingly different," "Nature's Miracle Molecule makes Pennsylvania Motor Oils different from all others." Alka-Seltzer says that "there are pills for headache, neuritis, neuralgia. But they must dissolve in the stomach. (This is sometimes a slow process and delays relief.) But Alka Seltzer . . . acts quickly," etc. Bayer, on

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the other hand, reports that "doctors who looked inside a living person's stomach saw that Bayer tablets are NOT whole when they enter the stomach but disintegrate on the way and enter in soft tiny flakes ready to go to work *instantly* so you feel better fast!"

It would be false and misleading to expect relief from Mr. Kintner. The FTC's sudden interest in television advertising will produce pious avowals and disavowals and some toning down of the more absurd, exaggerated and perhaps ungrammatical of the commercials – for a while. And then, when the hoopla is over and Congressmen have squeezed all the political juice out of this rotten lemon, advertising will return to pretentious humbug. Smart showmanship will know how to misrepresent its products without flatly lying.

The FTC can't get anywhere near the source of TV's weakness, for that lies in the fact that television is owned, body and soul, by the seller of products. The TV industry lives not to produce good programs but large audiences for the spiel of the salesmen. The only way the public is going to be treated to consistently superior TV – a wider variety and better quality in programming over any long period of time – is for there to be alternatives to the present system of broadcasting.

Here is the problem Congress ought to be studying. Let it search for a new formula, one that would make sustained excellence possible. Such a study would inevitably quickly have to consider the question of "who pays." And to this question, there are at least three answers, and perhaps combinations of the three: the taxpayer, private philanthropy and the consumer.

Specifically, a public-managed television network, patterned on the BBC model, might support some programs that are not commercially profitable. It is also conceivable that the great philanthropic foundations could be interested in doing more to underwrite at least part of the heavy costs of quality shows. And there is also the perennial alternative which Congress should now consider with more sympathy – Pay TV, which permits the consumer to underwrite directly those programs which he prefers and which the mass-minded sponsors do not choose to make available.

TWO VIEWS ON SUMMIT CONFERENCES

The Rift Between Britain and France

From London, MR. HEALEY, *who has been re-elected to the House of Commons as a Labour candidate, expresses the resentment in Britain over French delaying tactics that have postponed a Summit meeting until next spring. Mr. Healey recently accompanied Hugh Gaitskell and Aneuran Bevan on their mission to Moscow where they conferred with the Soviet Premier.*

The division of opinion which is delaying the Summit conference emphasizes once again the ability of France and Germany, if not to decide what allied policy shall be, at least to veto a policy of which they disapprove. It also emphasizes the gulf which has developed between Britain and the continent on nearly all major issues of international diplomacy and strategy – a gulf likely to grow even wider unless drastic action is taken.

But this split has had at least one merit – it may compel governments to think more clearly about the function of Summit conferences in general. In Britain particularly there has been a tendency to encourage the public to believe that a Summit conference in itself would be a major if not a final step toward a general diplomatic settlement. By stating his own view more precisely, General de Gaulle has forced the British government to admit that in its opinion the Summit conference will be just the first of a long series of encounters with Mr. Khrushchev, and that the main purpose of such encounters is to maintain a climate in which diplomatic agreements will be easier to conclude at lower levels. General de Gaulle on the other hand affects to believe that the first Summit conference can and should settle the broad lines of agreement on all the major outstanding questions – but for that reason should not be held without far more preparation on the Western side and without concrete proof of Soviet readiness to make concessions not just in Europe but in all other parts of the world.

Unfortunately, the very phrase "Summit conference," however convenient to journalists, encourages some perilous illusions. It is certainly necessary to involve Mr. Khrushchev directly in any negotiations which aim at a major change in Soviet policy, since he is obviously the only man who can authorize such a change. Protocol demands that the Western representatives at such negotiations shall also be heads of government – even though the individuals concerned may sometimes be inferior to Mr. Khrushchev both in knowledge, experience and authority. In this sense, a meeting of heads of government may be called a conference at the Summit.

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But there is no doubt that the phrase also carries the implication that the individuals concerned are the most important people in the world, and that their decisions can be binding even on countries which are not present at the talks. This conception is not only quite unrealistic but highly dangerous. It is responsible for Dr. Adenauer opposing the very idea of heads of government meeting at all, and it has created much needless suspicion not only inside NATO but even inside the Communist bloc. Unfortunately there is a tendency in more than one country to use its prospective presence at a Summit meeting to inflate the national ego.

The true situation is that heads of government must meet to discuss certain questions simply because in Russia only Mr. Khrushchev can take the decisions that must be taken. But they need not be the same heads of government every time – that will depend on which countries are directly involved in the specific problems under discussion. And it is no more possible for one country to exert a veto on every meeting of heads of government than on any other form of diplomatic contact. There are, however, certain risks in involving heads of government directly in diplomacy – apart from the varying competence of the individual leaders. The personal prestige of heads of government is far more sensitive than that of diplomats, or even foreign ministers. Thus there is not only the danger that a country may make unwise concessions for the sake of producing an apparent success. There is also the danger that countries may refrain from reaching possible agreements through normal diplomatic channels so as to save them up for painless triumphs at the Summit. I believe that Berlin illustrates both these dangers. Quite apart from the obvious disadvantages to the West in a new agreement on Berlin which does not involve any change in the city's physical isolation from the Federal Republic, there is no doubt that if an interim agreement is desired, it is well within the Western grasp already – particularly since the Eisenhower-Khrushchev talks. But both sides are deliberately holding back the necessary concessions so that they may be made at the Summit.

It is possible that the deadlock on a nuclear test ban has similar origins – but this is more serious. For though it is now probable that the Berlin situation will not further deterioriate over the next few months, a nuclear test ban will be infinitely more difficult to achieve once France has staked her claim to a place in the discussions by exploding her first bomb. On the other hand, if the existing nuclear powers have agreed on a ban and a control system before France enters the nuclear club, it will be much easier to persuade France ultimately to accept it, too. For this reason, I believe there is a strong case for the heads of the Soviet, American, and British governments to meet immediately – if only for a day or two – to break the deadlock at Geneva.

Denis Healey

De Gaulle's Three Reasons For A Summit Delay

From Paris, M. Daniel, *who is the foreign affairs editor of* L'Express, *examines the reasons which lie behind the desire of General de Gaulle to delay the Big Four conference and to reach some separate understanding with Khrushchev prior to talks at the Summit.*

The invitation of Mr. Khrushchev to Paris and the unsuccessful attempt against the life of M. François Mitterand, former Minister of the Interior, has relegated the question of de Gaulle's attitude toward a Summit conference – sooner or later – to the background so far as French public opinion is concerned.

Nevertheless, the question of when and under what conditions the Big Four shall meet has dominated all other questions in the chancellories of a number of countries, notably England and Spain as well as Germany. The West Germans and Spaniards have reason to congratulate themselves on General de Gaulle's diplomatic strategy, while the outburst of hostility which that strategy has provoked in the sensationalist press in England has shocked the French people, even those who have the greatest reservations about de Gaulle.

The question can perhaps be stated this way: Why does General de Gaulle want to delay the meeting with Eisenhower and Macmillan until the middle of December and the Summit conference until next spring? Here are the three answers which an analysis in good faith can furnish:

1. *The French government cannot explode its bomb until next spring.* The government wants badly to explode the bomb. It wants to come to the Summit conference after that explosion. It would not be willing to participate in a conference which had as one of its precise goals the suspension of nuclear tests and experiments.

On this point General de Gaulle has a number of anxieties, not all of which are known abroad. Doubtless, strengthened by a French atomic explosion he would like to negotiate with the United States for the delivery of a certain number of secrets about the manufacture of nuclear weapons. Doubtless also he is indignant about the campaign, (of Communist origin but which the Afro-Asian world has taken up), against the setting off of a French bomb, while the French scholar Francis Perrin, Director of the French Atomic Center, has just written that "for the states bordering on the Sahara the radioactive risks will be much less great than those of the Nevada explosion were for the Californians."

Here it should be noted that M. Francis Perrin is a scholar of the "left," a liberal who voted "no" in the referendum organized by de Gaulle.

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But there is also and above all the fact that at the very moment when France is committing itself to the hard path of negotiations with the *Front de la Liberation Nationale Algerienne* (FLN) for peace in Algeria, the explosion of the atomic bomb is an element of prestige which fits into a genuine plan for conversion of the French Army. The purpose of the plan is to *decomplexer* – to rid this army of its complexes, to compensate it for its frustrations, to heal it of the shock it suffered from what was presented to it as a series of colonial defeats but which in fact was the evolution of in inevitable process of decolonization. General de Gaulle's plan is the atomic army and the complete reorganization of strategy and tactics. The first to advocate tanks in the interim between the two World Wars, he now wants to be the artisan of French military renovation. He would like to convince the French army of Algeria that such a conversion is much more important than the temptation to carry out revolts on the South American pattern, and that even after the restoration of peace in Algeria, the French army will still have a great mission to perform.

2. *General de Gaulle would like to come to an understanding with Khrushchev on a certain number of points.* First of all he desires to persuade the Russians that if France agrees to stop nuclear experiments after the explosion of the French bomb in the Sahara, there will be no further reason to feed the Afro-Asian campaign, which he believes will stop if the Russians and Americans agree to make it stop. Then he would like to get Khrushchev's agreement for a postponement of the United Nations debate on Algeria until next year's session. The discussions which have already taken place between General de Gaulle and M. Vinogradov, the Soviet Ambassador in Paris, have progressed very far and justify the belief that the basis of an agreement has already been reached. In this connection, a picturesque anecdote may reveal the nature of the relations between the two men who have been friends since 1945. When M. Vinogradov visited the new French President at the beginning of this year, the following exchange took place:

De Gaulle: "Well then, Mr. Ambassador, are you still Gaullist?"

Vinogradov: "And you, Mr. President of the Republic, are you still Stalinist?"

The Russians will have a number of requests to make, principally about Berlin. Khrushchev rather has the impression that in coming to see de Gaulle, he is also visiting Chancellor Adenauer through a third person. And the Russians are convinced that Chancellor Adenauer is the only obstacle to a Soviet-American agreement about reduction of the number of allied troops in Berlin and even on the project for a de-militarized zone.

3. *General de Gaulle would like to participate in a summit conference as soon as the situation in Algeria has been completely clarified.* But he cannot bear the idea of participating in a debate as an inferior, and for the time being Algeria makes French diplomacy vulnerable and fragile. French diplomacy fears speaking up loud and firm because a vague feeling of guilt is given to it by the others. Immense progress has been made this year on the road toward the re-establishment of peace in Algeria. It is not to be excluded that around Christmas time talks about a cease-fire may have become possible and even begun. Nor is it to be excluded that if such talks succeed, they might lead to a great Franco-North African policy, putting Tunisia and Morocco within the French diplomatic orbit, and reconciling France and the Arab world – and promising at least a start toward a settlement of the problem of Israel, if that reconciliation is attempted by the Big Four.

Here are the three reasons which emerge from an analysis. Obviously it is still necessary to examine the basic disagreements which at times seem to put the French in opposition to the Anglo-Americans, particularly in regard to Berlin. But this examination has already been made, and I do not personally believe that the disagreement about negotiations with the Russians is as great as the English press blandly affirms; in my opinion such disagreements derive from the present internal present situation in France.

Jean Daniel

BONN

Whose Flag Will Fly in The Two Germanys?

The announcement, on September 21, that the East German Republic was introducing a new "national flag" passed almost unnoticed in Western Germany. It seemed a purely trivial matter. To the black, red and gold colors of the flag which had previously been in use on both German states the East Germans added a hammer and compass, and a wreath of ears of corn. The only reason that they gave was that the former German flag had been systematically "sullied and discredited" by West German" militarists."

During its short life since September 21 the new East German flag has already had an eventful history. On October 6 it was hoisted on the railway stations of the Berlin overhead railway, by groups of East German railwaymen and People's Police. Around 50 of these stations are on West Berlin soil, but belong to the East German "Reichsbahn." The East Germans have always claimed extra-territorial rights on these stations, rights which have never been conceded. There were scuffles on

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October 6 and 7 on the platforms between the East Germans and West Berlin police. The police removed about a third of the flags by force; the East Germans later removed the remainder of their own free-will.

On October 12 the three Western Commandants protested against the flying of the East German flag to the Soviet Commandant in Berlin, General Zacharov. On the same day the East Germans demanded the right to fly their flag at an athletic meeting in Stuttgart to which they had sent a team. On October 17 the flag was hoisted in both Vienna and Paris. In Vienna it was flown from a building in which an East German book-display was taking place. The Austrian Government was at once asked by the West German Embassy to have the flag hauled down; but the Austrian Chancellery temporized, stated only that it would "examine possibilities" in the matter. The Paris police acted promptly; they had the flag – which had been hoisted in the Coubertin Stadium, where an East German volley-ball team was due to play France – hauled down. The East Germans thereupon cancelled the game.

Finally, on October 17, the East German Socialist Unity Party paper, *Neues Deutschland*, announced that the new flag would be flown from all "appropriate" buildings on all "appropriate" occasions. The next such occasion will be November 6-9, when the East Germans – along with the rest of the Communist World – will celebrate the anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution. *Neues Deutschland* suggested that, if there were any further "interference" with the East German flag in Berlin, it would be necessary to close down the whole network in West Berlin of the overhead railway. It was this challenge that led to the US-British-French agreement to place the Allied garrison in West Berlin on a standby alert throughout the celebration and to use troops if necessary to prevent the flying of the flag.

The West German Government has found itself in an awkward position in the flag-dispute, which was discussed at several Cabinet meetings during the last two weeks. At first it assumed that the introduction of the new flag was simply a "symbolic" gesture. The view then began to gain ground that it was more fundamental than this – it was genuinely intended to emphasize East German independence, and to provoke situations in which recognition of such independence might be forced. Chancellor Adenauer preferred to regard the matter as one primarily for the Western Commandants in Berlin – at least in the beginning.

But on October 18 he said that the flag dispute showed what "those on the other side of the Iron Curtain understand by relaxation of tension and peaceful coexistence," and that the Western world had never before been so openly attacked and insulted. In West Berlin, Lord Mayor Willy Brandt said that the flag dispute offered the East Germans a new way of bringing pressure to bear on West Berlin, and underlined the need for Western solidarity and determination not to give way one inch in the old Reich capital.

On October 15 the West German Cabinet discussed imposing a ban on the East German flag throughout Western Germany. There was plenty of opposition to this proposal within the Cabinet. The main reason for it was one which was not immediately obvious.

The principal form of contact between the two German states is now in the field of sports. Up to September nearly 11,000 East Germans visited Western Germany during 1959 as members of sports and athletic teams. If the East German flag (and the East German national anthem) is banned, it is perfectly certain that for reasons of prestige the East Germans will cancel all of these meetings. For the West Germans it is an article of faith that as many East Germans as possible should come to Western Germany. Only in this way can some genuine contact be maintained between the "two Germanys" and the process of converting Eastern Germany into a "People's Democracy" at least retarded. The instinct of the Minister for All-German Affairs, Herr Lemmer, is a sound one. He believes that relations between the two German states should be as far as possible normalized, without any sort of recognition of the East German regime. Sport and athletic meetings might seem relatively unimportant, but it is not.

Many East Germans seek refuge in the West because they are entirely cut off from it. The more East Germans that do this the less the powers of resistance to Communism of those who remain in Eastern Germany. On October 11 Herr Lemmer appealed to the East Germans to "hold fast and see things through." He explained that the flight of East German intellectuals, in particular, was weakening the powers of resistance of the whole East German community. Where should the average East German citizen look for inspiration? The intellectuals, the doctors, the lawyers.

Herr Lemmer's real fear is that the East German regime is succeeding all too well in gradually reducing and stifling resistance to Communism. The regime is very much aware of its gathering strength – based on unwavering Soviet support and a steadily improving economic situation. It is building jamming-stations in order to make reception of Western radio programs impossible. It is sentencing East German citizens to imprisonment for listening to the BBC and the Voice of America. It is imprisoning East Germans who sought refuge in the West and are returning to visit relatives. It has just had arrested two members of the American Military Mission to the Soviet forces in Potsdam. And it must be doing these things with the certainty of Soviet backing. Walter Ulbricht has never acted without it. That is why it looks as if the Soviet intention is to maintain a "Berlin crisis" for quite a while longer. That, too, is the significance of the "flag dispute," so trivial on the surface.

TERENCE PRITTIE

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Time To Get Up

It was a sad day for the nation, in the opinion of President Eisenhower, when he had to invoke the sanctions of the Taft-Hartley Act to halt the steel strike.

He can say that again. Indeed, it was the 93rd sad day for everybody in the nation except, perhaps, the steel companies, who could use a summer stoppage of production to reduce their inventories of high-priced steel. But the first 90 days had pretty well done that, so it was beginning to be a sad day for the steel companies, too, which made it unanimous.

Apparently the President was not nearly so much impressed by the sadness of the day when he promptly invoked the law against longshoremen, who struck companies that didn't want a strike. Yet that was a sad day, too, not because the President had to act, but because he had to use a meat-axe to perform a delicate operation. The Taft-Hartley Act is a clumsy implement with which to repair lesions in the economic system, but it is the only one available, and even the Supreme Court can't change that.

This is not only sad, it is also bad. It is a reflection upon American leadership, political and economic, another aspect of the intellectual sterility that has had our foreign relations hung on dead center for the past seven years, unable to contrive any means of buttressing our position in the world except the dubious expedient of terrorizing our potential enemies by the threat of our nuclear arms.

It is both idle and unfair to lay all the blame at the door of the politicians. Political leadership is no more bankrupt than economic. In the steel industry, for instance, when management and labor can devise no other means of settling disputes than a resort to cold war, it ill becomes them to criticize Eisenhower for resorting to the same ineffective and expensive means in the international field.

Labor's charge that management is trying to snatch away advantages gained in a contract 15 years old may be well founded, but it is specious logic, anyhow. In modern industry any contract 15 years old is open to suspicion. However equitable it may have been when it was signed, there is a strong presumption that it is now outmoded. Certainly other features of industrial operation, up-to-date in 1944, are antiquated in 1959, so the burden of proof is upon those who favor retention of the practices of a decade and a half ago. But on the other hand the public's suspicion that the steel companies welcomed this strike as a means of reducing inventories without reducing prices is the suspicion that they are indulging in thinking as archaic as Secretary Dulles' "massive retaliation." To precipitate a strike for any such purpose is as stupidly extravagant as it would be to use an atomic bomb to demolish a termite-eaten flophouse. The late gyrations of the stock market are evidence enough that the steel strike has shaken the whole economic structure, and the fall-out in the shape of collateral unemployment may be costlier than granting all the workers' demands would have been.

Perhaps the flight from intelligence that has impressed and depressed thoughtful observers for nearly 10 years is attributable to fatigue. It is true that the New Deal-Fair Deal era did keep our brains under considerable pressure for 20 years, and perhaps we simply couldn't take it any longer. It may be plausibly argued that only a mentally exhausted country would have taken seriously the kind of campaigning that Nixon did against Helen Gahagan Douglas, and that Joseph McCarthy did against every exponent of common or uncommon sense.

But how long, for Heaven's sake, will it take us to rest up? For seven years we have relaxed under the influence of that cosmic tranquillizer, Eisenhower, a blanket so wet that he could make a dull show out of the capture of John Brown performed by the original cast. Surely, we should by now be showing some signs of recuperation, even from the furious driving of such Jehus as Roosevelt and Truman. But the signs are woefully few and far between; and a counter-indication is the mental and moral inertia that let the steel strike go for 93 days without discovery of a single new approach to industrial peace.

Meanwhile the rising cost of living pinches harder and harder and the presence of 12.5 million "investors" in the stock market sets such analysts as Sylvia Porter to making chilling comparisons with 1928. Yes, it is a sad day for the country, but not because Eisenhower at long last took action. It is sad because of the widespread repetition, in Washington and elsewhere, of that ancient chant of the Sluggard: "Yet a little sleep, a little slumber, a little folding of the hands to sleep."

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THE FACTS ABOUT NIXON – VII

He survived the crisis of confidence brought about by news of a "Nixon fund" and went on to deliver the hardest punches of the '52 campaign. He labeled Stevenson a weakling, a waster, a friend of Alger Hiss, an appeaser of Communism. Two years later, the same campaign tactics failed; control of Congress shifted to the Democrats. And within a year the Vice President's future was again placed in doubt by the illness of the President and maneuvers to block Nixon's renomination in '56.

Ebb Tide and Intrigue

by William Costello

As a campaigner, riding a wave of popular revulsion against wartime urgencies and stringencies, Nixon had gained a series of impressive victories. Then came the ebb tide, and in 1954 he found himself for the first time playing a lead in a more turgid drama. As the 1952 crusade lost momentum the outlook for the Republicans had turned equivocal. Disillusionment set in; there was dissatisfaction over continuing budget deficits; over high taxes; over the business recession; over the evident fact that the General had not worked miracles and the no less evident refusal of the Cold War to go away.

At a meeting of Republican strategists September 1 in Cincinnati, Nixon warned bluntly that it would behoove all to "run scared." He repeated the party line that had been laid down two years earlier – that the White House would give backing to every Republican Congressional nominee over any Democrat. He brushed aside dissension over whether a Case in New Jersey was "too liberal" or a Meek in Illinois was "too conservative." He said: "We've got to get 48 votes in the Senate, and let's get that into our heads."

As for the specter of defeat, he warned them grimly: "If that happens this year, we are done . . . we might as well fold up our tents and go away."

Against that background Nixon left Washington September 15 to fight for the election of another Republican Congress. The polls almost unanimously foreshadowed a Republican defeat. Although not himself a candidate, he shared fully the party's sense of desperation. Starting in mid-September, one of 146 Republican barnstormers beating the bushes for votes that year, Nixon made a valiant effort to stem the anti-Republican tide. In 48 days he traveled 28,072 miles, visited 95 cities in 31 states, made 204 speeches, and held more than a hundred news conferences.

His drumfire of attack drew heavily on the arguments and charges that he had rehearsed in '50 and '52.

St. Louis, September 17: The Democrats "either did not understand the magnitude of the [Communist] threat, or ignored it."

Omaha, September 20: The Eisenhower Administration is "kicking Communists, fellow-travelers and bad security risks out of the federal government by the thousands. The Communist conspiracy is being smashed to bits by this Administration. . . . Previous Democratic Administrations underestimated the Communist danger at home and ignored it. They covered up rather than cleaned up."

Lansing, September 21: " . . . The issue is the inexcusable actions of a few leaders of the previous Administration who by underestimating the danger of Communist infiltration, by ignoring the warnings of J. Edgar Hoover and the FBI, and by covering up rather than cleaning up when disloyalty was brought to their attention, rendered a terrible disservice to their country and discredit to their party."

New Bedford, September 27: "We have driven the Communists, the fellow-travelers and the security risks out of government by the thousands. I stand by the statement."

Washington, D. C., October 18: (foreshadowing the plank he was to favor in 1958) " . . . They [the people] realize also that the alternative [to a Republican 84th Congress] is a Congress unfriendly to President Eisenhower's Administration, under the thumb of the ADA left-wing, which captured the Democratic Party at Chicago in 1952, and which is masterminding the current campaign. The people know from bitter experience that this clique is notoriously soft on the Communist threat at home and is blatantly advocating socialization of American institutions."

Lest it appear that excerpts of this kind might misrepresent Nixon's views, as being out of context, it might be well to present his own complete statement of the K-1, C-3 formula as it appeared in the pro-Eisen-

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hower *New York Herald Tribune*, October 4, in the first of a series of 14 articles by Administration spokesmen:

> "The KOREAN conflict ended after costing the United States 142,000 casualties, and $15 billion from the national treasury. Subsequently, President Eisenhower had made it plain he would never carry this country into war without full consultation with the Congress. On more than 100 occasions the President and the State Department in those 20 months has conferred with leaders of both parties and both houses.
>
> "The world is at peace for the first time in 12 years. We must not underestimate the threat that will exist to the peace of the world as long as the international outlaws of the COMMUNIST CONSPIRACY are on the loose. We believe, however, that this Administration's policy of strength militarily, firmness diplomatically, and coolness in crises is the one which has the best chance of gaining our great objective of peace without surrender.
>
> "At home, we live in fullest assurance that all possible safeguards have been built against the kind of SUBVERSION which made a shambles of domestic security in the locust years during and after World War II. Together, this Administration team has evolved a hard-hitting program that forged potent legal weapons designed to destroy the Communist conspiracy.
>
> "We have dealt effectively with CORRUPTION. No appointee of the Eisenhower Administration has become tinged with scandal and the American people can be sure that corruption of any type will not go unpunished in this Administration.
>
> "CONTROLS which patently were unable to control runaway inflation have been lifted off the backs of harassed consumers, workers and business men alike. Our dollars today are firm dollars; purchasing power has held steady for 20 months after a skyrocket ride that had sent living costs up almost 50 percent between 1945 and 1952."

Nixon also employed some meretricious platform gimmicks that enraged the Democrats and were of questionable value in the final tally. One of these was the charge first heard in Van Nuys, California, October 13, that "when the Eisenhower Administration came to Washington on January 20, 1953, we found in the files a blueprint for socializing America. This dangerous, well-oiled scheme contained plans for adding $40 billion to the national debt by 1956. It called for socialized medicine, socialized housing, socialized agriculture, socialized water and power, and perhaps most disturbing of all, socialization of America's greatest source of power, atomic energy."

What Nixon did not say – and what few news stories reported – but what Nixon's press officer said when queried was that the Vice President was not referring to any specific documents in using the term "blueprint," but was using figurative language to describe the philosophy and proposals of President Truman. The fact that there was no blueprint did not deter Nixon from continuing to use the figure of speech.

A second gimmick, used first at Butte, Montana, October 22, was his announcement that he had in his possession a "secret memorandum" sent to California leaders of the Communist Party, directing them to "fight out the issues within the ranks of the Democratic Party." Following his usual practice of equating the Communist and Democratic Parties by this type of reverse English, he charged that this alleged document proved the Communist Party was "determined to conduct its program within the Democratic Party."

Another ploy grew out of Republican Party efforts to prove statistically that all subversives had been weeded out of the federal government. Over a period of months, in this "numbers game," the figures on ousted security risks rose progressively from 1,456, to 2,200 to 2,429 to 2,486 and eventually to 6,926. Using this figure Nixon told a Rock Island rally October 21: "The President's security risk program had resulted in 6,926 individuals removed from the federal service. . . . The great majority of these individuals were inherited largely from the Truman regime. . . . Included in this number were individuals who were members of the Communist Party and Communist-controlled organizations."

He even went so far as to assert November 1 in Denver that "96 percent of the 6,926 Communists, fellow-travelers, sex perverts, people with criminal records, dope-addicts, drunks and other security risks removed under the Eisenhower security program were hired by the Truman Administration."

Who Fired and Hired Whom?

Nixon's statistics did not stand up under examination. The record showed that in Truman's last full year, 32,345 employees were fired for cause by the Democrats; and in Eisenhower's first full fiscal year, the government fired 21,626 employees for cause. Moreover, toward the end of the 1954 campaign Philip Young, the Eisenhower-appointed chairman of the Civil Service Commission, testified that he knew of no single government employee who had been fired by the Eisenhower Administration for being a Communist or fellow-traveler. Later Young revealed that an analysis of 3,746 employees who were dismissed or who resigned for security reasons from May, 1953, until mid-1955 showed 41.2 percent had been hired by the Eisenhower Administration itself. Still later a Senate investigating committee reported that 53 percent of those ousted as security risks had been hired by the Republicans.

Moreover, from 1933 until the end of the Truman

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Administration an impressive list of antisubversion laws had been added to the statute books: the McCormack Foreign Agents Registration Act; the Hatch Act which among other things made it illegal for a federal employee to be a Communist; the Nationality Act of 1940 whose purpose was to prevent the naturalization of Communists; the Voorhis Act requiring registration of alien-controlled organizations; the Smith Act under which Communist leaders were prosecuted and imprisoned; the Atomic Energy Espionage Act of 1946 which tightened up the original espionage act (1917) with respect to atomic secrets; and the Internal Security Act which required the registration of Communist and Communist-front organizations.

Stevenson as the Target

Adlai Stevenson continued to be a favorite Nixon target. At the Beverly Hills City Hall October 28, Nixon used his talent for the oblique turn of phrase to make a particularly invidious insinuation. "Mr. Stevenson has been guilty, probably without being aware that he was doing so," said Nixon, "of spreading pro-Communist propaganda as he has attacked with violent fury the economic system of the United States and praised the Soviet economy. He said recently, 'While the American economy has been shrinking [this was at a time when there were signs of a business recession in the US], the Soviet economy has been growing fast, which is one of the most important facts in the world situation. In the long view it is probably a more important fact than the development of Soviet military power.'

"Whatever Mr. Stevenson's purpose may be," the Vice President continued, "such statements of praise for the Soviet economy do the cause of the free world great damage. His dislike for our own economic system is his own business, but when he links such criticism with praise of the rapid growth of the Soviet economy, he is performing a grave disservice to us and the rest of the free world."

Taken in context, Stevenson had spoken, not in praise of the Soviet system, not in "violent fury" against the American system, but in an effort to arouse the American public to support a more rapid expansion of the American economy. In that instance as in others when Nixon, the Spieler, let his eagerness to please an audience carry him into deep waters, he later found himself recanting. In April, 1958, speaking before the American Newspaper Publishers Association, he boldly adopted the Stevenson thesis which he had viewed with such sinister distaste four years earlier: "The Soviet economy is growing faster than ours," Nixon conceded on sober second thought. "We must recognize that economic competition between the free world and the Communist world may well decide the world conflict. . . . We hear much today of the great strength of the Soviet Union. I have never been one to discount this strength. It would be fatal to underestimate it. . . . We cannot afford to stand still. . . ."

It would be unfair to suggest that Nixon alone was responsible for the tone of the '54 GOP campaign. In reality, he may have been somewhat more moderate than the party high command. State and national committees minced no words in accusing the Democrats of pro-Communist sympathies. In Iowa, in Thomas E. Martin's Senate race, a leaflet addressed to "MR. VOTER" went on to assert: "If you like graft, corruption, pinkos, left-wingers and actual Communists in your government, Vote Democratic." An Indiana leaflet showed drawings of Lenin, Stalin and Malenkov and trumpeted: "We shall force the United States to spend itself to destruction," a wholly fictitious quotation that was coined by the Jenner forces. It warned: "$12 billion of *Your* Taxes Given to Russia by Democrats," and pleaded: "Vote Republican for your own security – for protection of Home – Farm – Church!" In states as far apart as Utah and Rhode Island, posters blossomed out almost simultaneously with the slogan: "The SON you save may be your OWN"; and the casualty lists in three wars were laid at the doorstep of the Democratic Party, with the implication that the Democrats were bloody warmongers. Senator O'Mahoney in Wyoming was labeled Foreign Agent 783 because he had registered as legal counsel for a foreign client.

The stridency of the campaign reached its climax in a series of radio spot announcements distributed by the Republican Congressional Committee for use on local radio stations as paid advertising:

> "*Crier:* Oyez! Oyez! Oyez! Listen to the record of the Fair Deal, and the New Deal, the Double Deal!
>
> "*Different Voices:* Communists and spies infiltrated the top spots in our government!
>
> "*Voice B:* Traitors stole the secrets of the A-bomb and gave them to Russia!
>
> "*Voice C:* Traitors stole the secrets of the H-bomb and gave them to Russia!
>
> "*Voice D:* Government spending went up and up! Taxes went up and up! Casualty lists went up and up! Fair Deal cronies avoided millions in income tax payments!
>
> "*Announcer:* Yes, that is the record of 20 years of Double Deal – a record of Communism and corruption. It must not happen again! America's future is at stake. Vote Ike a Republican Congress and endorse his crusade against Communism and corruption. Vote Republican in November!"

In the last hours of the campaign Nixon went all out against Stevenson. The Illinois Democrat had suggested

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that Eisenhower must have spoken "thoughtlessly and carelessly" in affirming that American prosperity had been achieved only at the price of war and bloodshed; and had charged that, after failing to "control a campaign of slander" against the Democrats, the President "evidently has embraced it now." In answer the Vice President first fired off a telegram October 30 in which he told Stevenson: "You have been following your usual tactics of covering up the record and failing to answer the facts by screaming 'smear, slur and slander'. Your principal target seems to be me. All I have done since September 15 is to cite the hard facts from the record so that the American people can make an intelligent choice on election day between going forward with the Eisenhower program, or electing a Congress which has been committed by the Democratic national chairman to go back to the policies of Harry Truman. . . . I suggest that in your speech tonight to the American people, instead of answering with your usual quips and with the shopworn cry of 'smear', you discuss this record. . . . It is clear that the issue today is exactly what it was in 1952. We have the same spokesmen, yourself, Mr. Mitchell, and your ADA bedfellows calling for the defeat of President Eisenhower through the election of an anti-Eisenhower Congress. . . . I am confident that millions of Democrats, as in 1952, will realize . . . that your clique of starry-eyed opportunists with your feet in the clouds, and your heads in the sand, does not represent the true principles of the Democratic Party. . . ."

While these last-minute blows were being struck, President Eisenhower showed his gratitude in a "Dear Dick" letter dated October 28 in which he said feelingly:

> "Whenever my burdens tend to feel unduly heavy, I admire all the more the tremendous job you have done since the opening of the present campaign. You have personally carried a back-breaking load of hard, tedious, day-to-day and state-by-state campaigning. And in doing so you have been undismayed by problems of time, distance and physical effort. . . . No man could have done more effective work. . . . Whatever the outcome next Tuesday, I can find no words to express my deep appreciation."

The voters showed their lack of appreciation November 2 by lodging control of both houses in the 84th Congress with the Democratic Party. The House vote showed the following shift in national totals:

	Republican	*Democratic*
1952	28,399,286	28,336,127
1954	20,033,673	22,175,228

The 1952 elections had given the Republicans control of the House by a majority of eight votes, 221 to 213. As a result of the '54 election the Republicans lost 18 seats in the House, and control shifted to the Democrats, 232 to 203. Republicans had controlled the Senate in the 83rd Congress by the narrow margin of 49 to 47. When the 84th Congress convened, the lineup was reversed: 49 Democrats, 47 Republicans.

Repercussions continued to be heard for months. Nixon's explanation was conveniently at hand. In the summer of 1953 he had told a reporter that a controversy over McCarthy "would cause a very decided split among Republicans and could well lead to a defeat for us in the 1954 election." On November 12, 1954, a newsmagazine quoted him in a long interview:

> "Early in the campaign the McCarthy issue hurt the Republicans in the sense that it divided the Republicans. It made it more difficult to obtain contributions . . . created some apathy in Republican organization ranks. . . . My reports are . . . the fall-off in Republican support was due to a certain extent to the disappointment of some of the Republicans over the handling of the McCarthy issue. I will not make that statement as being my opinion."

The Vice President's supporters, as a salvaging operation, made a hypothetical case for him by insisting that a Republican debacle had been averted only through his efforts. The Democrats were in no mood to accept this

Like a Boxer Needs His Gloves

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catchpenny rationalization. In their view the Republican campaign had been based on imputations of treason, and their resentment focused most bitterly of all on Nixon. In January Democratic national headquarters exhibited a "chamber of smears," in which excerpts from 31 Nixon speeches occupied a prominent place.

The end of the 1954 campaign marked a turning point of sorts for the Vice President. He had tested his maximum powers as a campaigner and failed. For the first time he had no victories to offer his own party, and he had nothing but enmity to expect from the opposition.

The Coronary Crisis of 1955

Within a year, however, Nixon was confronted with a question that could not have been anticipated, but one of obsessive prominence: whether President Eisenhower could or would run for re-election. He had suffered a heart attack on September 24, 1955, and from then on Nixon at any moment might become President, or a Presidential candidate, or a second-term Vice President, or none of these at all. As days ran into weeks his field of maneuver shrank steadily; a single false move at so trying a juncture could have proved his entire undoing.

Eisenhower flew from Denver to the White House November 11 and drove to his Gettysburg farm the 14th to continue his convalescence. By then the first hasty assumption that he would be invalided out of office had been almost universally discarded. His recovery had matched his physicians' best hopes, and, whatever the actuarial tables might argue, the President's physical condition warranted serious consideration of whether he should seek a second term.

Mr. Eisenhower acted with characteristic deliberation. After dinner on January 13, with elaborate secrecy, he met in his second-floor study with a group of intimates, reminded them that he must soon declare his intentions, and asked each in turn to discuss the factors having a bearing on his decision. Present were four from the Cabinet – Dulles, Humphrey, Summerfield and Brownell; five from the White House staff – Adams, Persons, Hagerty, Howard Pyle and Tom Stephens, besides Cabot Lodge, Leonard Hall and Dr. Milton Eisenhower. Nixon was conspicuously absent. The President sat with his back to the fireplace, listening soberly as each member of the informal roundtable assessed the odds. Not surprisingly, the unanimous view was that the President's work was unfinished; that, if final medical tests were satisfactory, he should run again.

Eisenhower thanked them and kept his own counsel.

It was more than a month before the decision was made. The crucial X-ray of Eisenhower's heart was made February 11, and the word three days later was that his health ought to enable him to continue leading an active life for five or ten years. Between February 15 and 25, the President submitted his strength to a more strenuous and final test on a quail-hunting expedition at George Humphrey's plantation at Thomasville, Georgia.

Nixon finally learned the President's decision, along with Hall, Adams, Persons, Hagerty and one or two others on February 28, the day before the news conference at which the President announced that, if the Republican convention nominated him, "my answer will be positive; that is, affirmative."

That announcement meant the issue was half settled, no more. For the Vice President still had no assurance whatever that he would be welcome a second time as Eisenhower's running-mate. His future was distinctly unclear. Even before the President's illness there had been rumblings of opposition; doubts and misgivings generated in 1952 by the secret fund episode had not been altogether dispelled. Criticism of his campaign tactics in 1946 and 1950 persisted, and the violently partisan line he had chosen in '54 did nothing to reassure some of those in the pro-Eisenhower wing of the GOP.

While the President was still convalescing at Denver, Senator Knowland had come close to outright repudiation of his fellow Californian. In what was interpreted as a backlash of the 1952 convention bitterness, the Senate's minority leader, without alluding to the Vice President directly, had growled portentously: "I do not consider a Pepsodent smile, a ready quip, and an actor's perfection with lines, nor an ability to avoid issues as qualifications for high office."

During the winter there were reports that Nixon was to be downgraded by a maneuver in which President Eisenhower took a hand. In February '56, just before announcing his own decision, the President called Nixon to the White House for a fatherly chat. He pointed out that no Vice President in modern history had succeeded a living President. He suggested that the Vice President's career had been to some degree handicapped by his never having occupied an important administrative office. He invited Nixon to consider whether his long-range interests might not be better served if he stepped aside at the expiration of his first term to accept a Cabinet post, perhaps Defense. Nixon was dismayed, but for once his wife refused to share his concern. For Pat, the torment of the 1952 fund crisis had had a traumatic effect. It was after that campaign that she asked Nixon for the first time to consider retiring from politics. She reverted to the subject early in 1954. After the 1954 campaign she had spoken of her desire again.

Throughout this period the President was noncommittal. He did bridle angrily at a press conference suggestion that he might "dump" Nixon, but there appeared every reason to believe he was carefully weighing the arguments pro and con. To leave Nixon off the ticket would, in some quarters, be interpreted as a confession of weakness, but his retention might cut into the President's following among Democrats and independents who liked Ike but disliked Nixon.

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As late as March 7 Eisenhower took a neutral position, telling his news conference that he had asked Nixon "to chart his own course and tell me what he would like to do." James Reston reported in the *Times* the following weekend that Adams and Brownell were "master-minding" a White House "holding operation" to head off the Vice President, and added: "Mr. Nixon does not like this and he is not without power to influence the outcome. . . . President Eisenhower could, of course, come out flatly against Mr. Nixon, and that would end it. But he is not yet sure he wants to do that and besides he does not like direct action."

It was Nixon himself who eventually forced a decision when he found himself threatened with involvement in a Congressional investigation having unsavory possibilities. A Senate subcommittee probing corruption and influence-peddling in military procurement issued a subpoena April 25 for Murray Chotiner, Nixon's campaign manager and friend. Democrats wanted to establish that Chotiner had used his Administration connections on behalf of clients.

On April 26, when Chotiner failed to appear as requested, risking a contempt citation, and before any testimony from his lips might conceivably compromise the Vice President, Nixon called at the White House to tell Eisenhower that he had indeed charted his course.

Then, using the White House itself as a platform, despite the tradition that the President reserves that prerogative for himself, Nixon made what *Time* called "the most predictable announcement of the year."

"I informed the President," he said, "that in the event the President and the delegates to the convention reached the decision that it was their desire for me to serve as the nominee of the Republican Party for Vice President, I would be honored to accept that nomination again, as I was, and as I did in 1952."

The President's press secretary, Jim Hagerty, interjected on cue to reporters: "The President has asked me to tell you gentlemen that he was delighted to hear of the Vice President's decision."

And the Vice President, to explain why it had taken him so long to put his intention on record, was happy to discuss the personal travail that he had undergone in the months just past. "I felt," he said, "that it was most important for me to make a decision which in my judgment and in the judgment of my associates was in the best interests of the success of the President in his campaign for re-election and for the continued success of the President's Administration. Consequently, I had to weigh all the factors involved and to reach a decision which would put that primary goal first, and after discussing the matter with friends, associates, and, of course, the President, I have made the decision that I indicated today."

Musing over that statement later, a columnist said gently: "Even his partisans could smile at the Vice President's implication that he had seriously considered stepping out."

When Nixon went to the White House that April day to declare himself in, he had not been unarmed. Largely through the efforts of Victor Johnston, an old Republican pro, Nixon brought along private pledges of support from more than 800 delegates or prospective delegates to the San Francisco convention, a clear majority. He had other powerful support – from Leonard Hall, Dr. Milton Eisenhower, Tom Dewey, and Sidney J. Weinberg, senior partner of the New York investment banking firm of Goldman Sachs, who had played a conspicuous part in bankrolling Eisenhower's political debut.

The countervailing weakness of Nixon's position made itself visible just six weeks later, on June 8, when President Eisenhower was hospitalized a second time to undergo an ileitis operation. Again, the long-range outlook for the President's health became a subject of nationwide debate, and as a corollary the question of Nixon's fitness to be President was reopened. Even among those who accepted him uncritically in the role of Vice President there were uneasy second thoughts about the possibility of his becoming President.

Doubts That Lingered

These doubts became more articulate during the summer. Influential leaders in the Citizens for Eisenhower Movement, the more liberal faction of the party, headed by Lucius Clay and Paul Hoffman, cautiously refused to embrace Nixon's candidacy. They headed off a proposal from Weinberg in March that the name of the organization be changed to include Nixon, but refrained from opposing him openly. A petition from 21 GOP governors, asking Eisenhower to run again, omitted Nixon's name, and Governor Fred Hall of Kansas admitted that one of the signers had urged, "for God's sake, keep Nixon's name off it." Publisher John Knight acknowledged in his signed editorial column not only that Nixon had weaknesses but that there was a party division on the question of his renomination. Knight argued that "not all of his [Nixon's] career has been marked by the best judgment," and added: "If the tergiversating Republicans who are shying away from Nixon feel he lacks the proper qualifications, why don't they stand up and say so?"

Nixon showed his disdain of skeptics and critics by a gesture that fell just short of flamboyance. Knowing he had done his homework and nailed down the votes, he ignored intraparty carping by embarking on a whirlwind two-week trip to the Far East, thus revealing again his instinct for picking a battleground calculated to serve his public relations interest. It was perhaps no fault of Nixon's that the trip failed to pay political dividends; news coverage was sketchy; his Manila speech at the tenth anniversary celebration of Philippine

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independence aroused a spate of anger elsewhere in Asia, but the home front was interested chiefly in pre-convention gossip. By July 10, Nixon was back, having neither gained nor lost by the gambit.

What finally dropped the nomination in his hands like an overripe plum was the lugubrious Stassen affair. On July 23, Harold Stassen, the President's administrative assistant on disarmament, called on Nixon to step aside voluntarily, and permit the convention to install Governor Christian Herter of Massachusetts in second place on the ticket. Stassen's argument was simply that public and private polls showed Nixon was "unpopular" and would weaken the ticket by 6 percent.

The implications of this move were complex and disturbing. It was assumed first that such a statement could not have come from within the White House family without the President's acquiescence. Indeed Stassen said he had consulted the President, in itself an alarming circumstance. It was likewise inferred that Stassen, as an experienced politician, would not be likely to risk such an undertaking without strong assurances of outside support, if not from the President himself then certainly from other influential Republicans.

What had to be determined was the power and extent of Stassen's support. It was a macabre situation. The President remained aloof. So long as he did that, no one could be sure where the center of gravity was located. At no time did Stassen identify his secret supporters and those within the mysterious coterie proved themselves the most reluctant of reluctant dragons.

A second puzzle for both professionals and outsiders was Stassen's decision to act only a month before the Republican convention. The Nixon problem had existed before the President's illness, since when there had been ample opportunity to carry earnest private discussions into the open. While the President had been making up his mind about running again, there had been a strong feeling that he must be allowed to choose his running-mate; but after he announced his decision without indicating such a choice, the situation was fluid. That would have seemed the logical time for Stassen's stop-Nixon move, and the fact that it had been so long delayed gave it a strange air of desperation.

Politicians and pundits alike groped for explanations. In the view of columnist David Lawrence, Eisenhower had made it clear Stassen was acting as an individual "and not as a member of the President's official family." Sorting through the rumors that were making life miserable for Nixon's friends, Lawrence said, "The finger points to a 'left-wing' coterie in New York City which put up money for the polls with the avowed object of developing statistical data to force Mr. Nixon out of the race." Others said the Stassen polls were "phony."

The anti-Nixon movement gained fresh impetus, at least psychologically, when Adlai Stevenson at the Democratic convention threw open to all candidates the contest for the Vice Presidential nomination. Those on the Stassenite fringe argued that the Republican convention by adopting the same device could clear the air of whatever appearance of disunity had been created.

In the last-minute maneuvering, General Clay was active behind the scenes, trying to find an acceptable alternative for Nixon. Sherman Adams suggested Eisenhower might extricate the party from its dilemma by reverting to the face-saving formula of 1952 – a list of "acceptable" candidates with Nixon's name first. Nixon told Dewey he would not demur; Brownell, however, called the idea "plain crazy," and Stassen in the end angered the President and killed the idea of a list by predicting it would be issued.

As the struggle was reconstructed later by Fletcher Knebel for *Look* magazine, Stassen asked to see the President Wednesday morning, and Eisenhower instructed Adams to talk to him first. Hall joined Adams and the two of them spent almost an hour with Stassen.

"Harold," Leonard Hall said finally, "for weeks you've been forecasting legions on white horses. They never materialize. You haven't got any delegates." When Stassen still refused to surrender, Adams handed him an ultimatum: he could see the President if he agreed to second Nixon's nomination.

In the end, that's the way it was. Stassen gave the President his personal assurance that the vendetta was off, and Eisenhower lost no time in calling a news conference to announce that the chasm had been bridged. Stassen's humiliation was Nixon's triumph. All opposition turned out to be as empty as delegate Terry Carpenter's mythical "Joe Smith."

Stassen's intrigue, however, left a distinct aftertaste, bitter to some in the Old Guard. In effect, it drew the battle line for 1960. The dump-Nixon movement of 1956, ill-timed and abortive as it was, seemed to foreshadow a more articulate challenge at the next Republican national convention.

NEXT WEEK: *The "new Nixon" coasts with Ike to an easy victory in the 1956 elections*

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Britain's Uncertain Left

by André Schiffrin

Since 1945, Britain's most popular newspaper, the tabloid *Daily Mirror*, has proclaimed its sympathies with the front page slogan "Forward with the People." On October 9, the day after that front page had urged its readers to vote Labour, the banner was dropped. It is inconceivable that *The Mirror*, with its more than 13 million readers, has abandoned the people. The answer must be that it no longer thinks that they are going forward. The omission, however, was not a shocked response to the Conservative sweep in the elections. Along with other changes (such as dropping its major political column, written by Labour M.P. Richard Crossman) it represented a new editorial policy that had been in a state of gradual development for some time.

Conviction
(Monthly Review Series; $4)

The same can be said about much of the controversy that has been renewed in Labour circles. The defeat has served as a catalyst and catharsis, but it has brought few new arguments to the rethinking that has preoccupied the Labour Party in recent years. Attention has once more been centered on the question of nationalization and this issue, more than any other, illustrates the range of the conflict, which is more than a simple right-left disagreement.

When people speak of the failure of nationalization, they do not mean that the government-owned industries are running badly or inefficiently. The old anti-socialist chestnuts that these industries could be paralyzed by bureaucratic control are rarely brought up. The public sector has done as well, at times better, than private corporations. On the whole, they have proved indistinguishable from them, and it is precisely this that has been the catch. There are accounts of cheering workers who rushed into the managerial offices, expecting that direct control would now be theirs.

But the managers remained at their desks and to keep the nationalized industries competitive, they were offered salaries and expenses equal to those in private firms. Apart from supervisory boards, on which the unions had representatives, the corporate structure remained the same. As far as the average worker (or voter) was concerned, the nationalized corporation looked no different from its predecessor. Some working conditions were improved, but the employees never stopped thinking of the government as "them" rather than us. The fact that the Treasury now controlled the "commanding heights" of the economy; that it was able to make long range plans and assure a more equitable economic recovery was too remote for the man in the street.

It is not surprising, therefore, that when private industry began its intensive propaganda attack against public ownership, it found only a few who were strongly in favor of it. The traditional left responded to this attack by sticking to the belief that nationalization was a basic part of the socialist program and that great economic power should not be left in private hands.

The Party leadership answered with a careful study called *Industry and Society*. Discovering Adolph Berle and Gardiner Means a generation late, the pamphlet argued that since ownership and management had become divorced, the question of simple ownership was no longer so important. The need was to have the nation benefit as a whole from the new industrial prosperity. Future governments should therefore buy shares in the most profitable industries, not to control them, but to give the nation a share of the soaring dividends.

The study, however, did not examine the other side of the coin, that if mere ownership was no longer necessary, then something was radically wrong with the already nationalized industries. It is this point which has been made by various younger critics who, reminis-

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cent of G. D. H. Cole's Guild Socialists, have called attention to the lack of industrial democracy in the public sector, to the new managerial elite and to the fact that socialism had made no difference to the worker in the factory. To paraphrase Walter Reuther, they have insisted that the nationalized industries be socialized.

No one can say which of these approaches will be adopted by the Labour Party. The electoral defeat of Ian Mikardo and Michael Foot argues against the popular appeal of the traditional argument. The proposals of *Industry and Society*, while backed by the prestige of the Labour Party's National Executive, offer the disadvantage of seeming to increase greatly the public sector while losing the advantages of actual control. Nor is it likely that professional economists will back a program which urges heavy government investment in the very fields that are already overcapitalized. The third proposal – akin to guild socialism – runs into traditional trade union opposition to experiments in industrial democracy as well as opposition to the strongly vested interest of the managerial class.

Is the answer then for Labour to drop the whole business and join with the Liberals in forming a new "radical" party, as proposed by the Liberal Party chief, Mr. Grimond? A closer look takes away much of the first appeal of such a proposal. For one thing, the Liberals have no domestic program to speak of and their major offer, that of "co-ownership of industry" is so vague that no one knows what it really means. The Liberals have gained great electoral advantage by being able to snipe at both their enemies, and by being free of both business and trade union domination. But with the exception of foreign policy where both parties share anti-colonial and, to a lesser degree, anti-nuclear positions, there is little that they have in common. The "radical" program would have to be based largely on such measures as anti-hanging legislation.

If the Tories were re-elected because the nation was comfortable and unwilling to change – and everyone seems to agree to this – it seems unrealistic to suggest that they will be unseated by this kind of a "radical" alliance. In the last year the Tories were responsible for some disasterous decisions (I would say evil if the word were still used to describe political acts) in their handling of the Hola massacres and the Nyasaland emergency. If this failed to halt the Tory gains, Labour would have to wait a long time before being elected on indignation over the barbarity of present laws on hanging or homosexuality.

Is there then any effective challenge to the prosperous *status quo*, a phenomenon that has become increasingly familiar in Western elections. Macmillan's "Life is Better under the Conservatives" is essentially Eisenhower's "Peace and Prosperity" and Adenauer's "No Experiments, Vote CDU." But it would be mistaken to assume that Labour has reached the impasse of the S.P.D. or the uncertainty of the Democrats. The fall in international commodity prices, Macmillan's extremely able leadership and months of intensive pre-election propaganda resulted in only a 1.25 percent shift in the Conservative vote (and 17 of their 28 new seats were won by majorities of under 1000). Labour's campaign won wide praise and has brought a new interest in the party's prospects. It is a little too early to suggest that Labour has no future.

But it is true that in the last years Labour has failed to present a sustained, vigorous opposition. The public image was a drab and restrained one and largely because of this, Labour lost the votes of many young people who had never known what pre-welfare England was like. (I once saw a British Sunday tabloid which was running a series of articles on the hardships of British emigrants in Canada. One of the headlines ran something like: SICK AND JOBLESS RECEIVE NO GOVERNMENT AID. When the evils of capitalism receive the treatment we used to accord child marriages in China, it is not surprising that socialism is taken for granted.)

The need for a new overall Labour appeal has been the center of much of the rethinking, and of the very best and most hopeful of the books on this subject has just been published in the United States, a collection of essays called *Conviction*.

The authors are all young Socialists, now engaged in teaching, writing or research. Most were born in the twenties and went to Oxford or Cambridge. They are part of the generation of intellectuals who still think of themselves as part of the Labour tradition and yet who are acutely aware of what one of them calls the "stalemate state."

It is best to quote directly. This is from Iris Murdoch's essay, "The House of Theory," (which was published earlier this year in the *Partisan Review*.):

> "We have not mended our society since its mutilation by 19th Century industrialism. There is less poverty but no more (in some ways less) true community life. Work has become less unpleasant without becoming more significant. The gulf remains between the skilled and creative few and the unskilled and uncreative many. What was formerly called the proletariat has lost what culture it once had, and gained no true substitute. A stream of half-baked amusements hinders thought and the enjoyment of art and even of conversation. Equality of opportunity produces, not a society of equals, but a society in which the class division is made sinister by the removal of intelligent persons into the bureaucracy and the destruction of their roots and characteristics as members of the mass. In short, a proletariat in the fundamental sense intended by Marx still exists: a deracinated, disinherited and excluded mass of people. Only this mass is now quiescent, its manner of life largely suburban and its outlook 'petty bourgeois', and it increasingly lacks any concept of itself as deprived."

There is none of the old certainty here; Miss Murdoch's essay is largely a plea to begin examining the question. But this essay, like several others, marks an important step forward. (I shall not speak of the foreign policy essays which on the whole seem much weaker and are in any case less relevant to this question.) The attempt is made to look behind the prosperity of post-war Britain and see the basic human needs that are still going unsatisfied. And from this, *Conviction* tries to sketch an alternative route, a genuinely different approach which will speak to these needs.

The sociologist Peter Townsend has coined what may prove to be a new slogan. He asks for a "society for people," a society whose energies and resources are directed towards the real needs of its members, not to the power or profit of a few. But is not *The Daily Mirror*

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also in favor of the "'people"? *The Mirror's* contents show, however, this is not actually the case. Like other mass media, it treats its audience as customers to be satisfied and manipulated (for the Labour Party or anyone else). Its chummy working-class line shows no less contempt for having become sincere. Its values have become part of the comfy apathy of Tory England. Why go any further forward when its so easy to remain where you are?

All of this is treated at length by Richard Hoggart, who extends the findings of his excellent *The Uses of Literacy* and by Raymond Williams who restates the case of his *Culture and Society*. Both men discuss the new British mass culture, which imposes on the old working class values the marketed concepts of a uniform, middle class England; the mass-produced "nice" world of the women's magazines. Their analysis of the old working class culture is more debatable, but the discussion of what the new media are doing to England is directly to the point. The defeat of the Labour Party was linked to the new feeling of class mobility, and it is important to ask, while there is still time, just what is meant by this new bourgeois England.

Brian Able-Smith does a very telling job on the myth of the welfare state, showing the remarkable degree to which the major beneficiaries have been not the working class, who already benefitted from many of the older social services, but the middle class, who were far more thorough in taking advantage of the new help to which they too were now entitled.

Peter Shore looks at the anatomy of managerial power in private and nationalized industries. The private firms have been quick to understand the implications of the post war situation, Shore shows. Corporations have established closer links with the privately owned schools, helping to refurbish the old class lines as well as the old school ties. At times, it is just the odd statistic that is most effective in defining the new situation in Britain, such as the fact that a third of all new cars bought in England are bought on expense accounts.

Of course, statistics aren't enough. We learn that in prosperous Britain 23 percent of all households lack flush toilets. But who knows, or cares, about such figures. As long as things are relatively better, people will tend to go along. Something more is needed, and *Conviction* tries to give us an idea of what it is. One of Labour's chief appeals was to the pensioners, and the promise to raise their allowance was a sincere reaction to a shocking injustice; it had none of the electioneering of last minute fiscal promises. Elections have to be fought on the extra ten shillings, but there is more to it than that. There is the whole question of the attitude with which one approaches these deprived people, the worth one attaches to their individual problems. This is perhaps best shown in a passage from Townsend in which he discusses the loneliness of the pensioners. He is describing one old woman whom he has visited: "I found it almost impossible to believe she was so isolated until I visited her on Christmas Eve and found no sign of Christmas but a sheet of wrapping paper from Woolworth's pinned up above the mantelpiece."

We are now speaking of people, not statistics. This old woman was one of many who had refused to apply for welfare aid, because she felt it still had the stigma of the dole. She was as far outside of the welfare state as one could be, and yet her loneliness is very much a part of welfare England.

Conviction seeks to reconstruct a socialism which will speak to this old woman and to the people who don't give a damn about her; a socialism which is concerned with loneliness as well as poverty; with monotony, alienation and deracination. We cannot tell how much can be done once society decides to devote some of its resources to them. But we can see what has been destroyed in a society that over a period of several generations has systematically put profits ahead of people and try to discover how much can still be salvaged.

Conviction is but a start. Some of the central issues: work, leisure, education, are just touched upon. But the very admission that these problems are part of the realm of politics and must be discussed is an advance. And the indication that there are young people in the Labour Party investigating them is a portent of future life.

When the British Labour Party won in 1945, its newly elected MPs gathered in the Lobby of the House of Commons and sang the party hymn of a New Jerusalem that was to be built in England's green and pleasant land. England was made a little greener and a little pleasanter and its inhabitants ended up by voting Conservative. For years, the Labour Party has done little more than say: we can make it even greener. But more than this is needed to win elections or to survive as a party. It was the vision of an alternative society that created the enthusiasm that first brought Labour to power. Perhaps in *Conviction's* "society for people" we have the beginning of a new vision.

The Gentility of Van Wyck Brooks

by Irving Howe

For nearly 25 years Van Wyck Brooks has been trying to soften up American literature. He has transformed its history of spiritual troubles into a pageant of autumnal nostalgia; he has trivialized our greatest works, ignored their pain, smoothed out their angularities. Though his mind has relaxed, his will has hardened, and he brings a harsh determination to seeing in the American past little but a glow of native sweetness. This effort to restore a genteel tradition which he had once mocked and scorned, has been damaging to American culture, for it has come at a moment when we need hard self-criticism and grittiness of spirit. As for Brooks himself, he has suffered a proper punishment, not so much in the attacks of the serious critics (which he should have been able to take) as in the praise of the middlebrow chauvinists (which he should have found intolerable).

Howells, His Life and World
by Van Wyck Brooks
(Dutton; $5)

Yet, all the while, those who disliked Brooks' later work have had an obligation to remember that he was also the author of *America's Coming-of-Age*, the brilliant book which in 1915 cleared the way for an honest and stringent literary

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criticism; and that he himself, in his early years of insurgent vigor, had provided the terms for judging his recent lapse into a timid conventionality.

This mixture of feelings shapes one's expectations in regard to Brooks' latest work. If it was too much to hope for a return to his early astringency of thought and style, there was at least the prospect of a relaxed, happy relation between author and subject. Howells would not impose upon Brooks the burdens of inquiry that Hawthorne or James might. Howells was a figure with whom he could completely identify: a literary gentleman, a decent soul, a friend of new talent, yet never extreme or unruly or threatening. Howells was a writer who raised no specter of modernism, a writer comforting in the transparency of his intentions and meanings. If Brooks were still capable of writing a first-rate book, it would surely be about a figure like Howells.

The book happens to be far from first-rate, but it does open well. The pace is brisk, the setting alive. So utterly at home, so purringy contented is Brooks in 19th-Century America that he does not even trouble to strike out at literary opponents of today. Too experienced a writer to risk competing with Howells' lovely memoir, *A Boy's Town*, he begins his biography at the moment when Howells, as a young man, is preparing to leave Ohio. There are charming vignettes of mid-Western life in 1860, glimpses of literary lions – and a memorable anecdote about Howells' later return to Ohio, where he visits the future president James Garfield, is interrupted in his reminiscences by Garfield's call to the neighbors, "Come over here! He's telling about Holmes, and Longfellow, and Lowell, and Whittier," and then, once the folks have settled in, is ordered, "Now go on!" (Imagine Mr. Eisenhower rallying his golf companions to hear "about Frost, and Stevens, and Williams, and Tate.")

But the book does not sustain this early promise, nor in any serious way progress beyond the opening sketch. There are, to be sure, evocations of Howells meeting the amiable Boston Brahmins, discovering the delights of Venice, taking over *The Atlantic Monthly* (then a distinguished magazine), speaking out for the Haymarket anarchists – evocations sweet, mild and lacy. But the book lacks an inner progress of idea, a coherent development of a point of view. Pale wispy pastels drift past the eye, one quite like the other. It's like floating in a rowboat on a calm bay, oars pulled in, muscles lax, mind drowsy: you can read with a sort of interest but need hardly pay attention. There are nice bits and patches, of course. It is pleasant to be reminded of Howells' generosity to the younger writers of his day, good to have repeated the story of his courage in defending the Haymarket anarchists, interesting to see the extent to which American intellectuals in the late 19th Century were, in the desirable sense, literary. Yet none of this is news, and in the absence of any commanding perspective of criticism, it seldom rises above the level of anecdote.

Brooks brushes past Howells' novels with an admiring impatience. He really likes them, he wishes sincerely to persuade us to read them; but the whole business of criticism bores him, and the books Howells wrote do not seem to him as important or *real* as the people Howells met, places he visited, things he did. It is a popular conception of biography these days (one knows just what to expect from a chapter that begins "It was a clear blue starlight morning when Howells arrived in Venice, just before dawn etc. etc."), and it seems to me thoroughly unfortunate. Writing about novelists without paying serious attention to their novels is like writing about Napoleon without analyzing his battles or St. Thomas without worrying about theology. What can be left, in such biographies, but the routine succession of daily events, precisely those which do not distinguish famous men from the rest of us?

The failure is all the more notable in view of our need for a thoughtful statement about Howells' novels. Why does one have the recurrent experience, in reading his books, of beginning with a decided intensity of interest and then, midway or a bit later, feeling that it has all been dissipated? What is there about Howells as artist which makes the conception behind his work so much more vital than the execution in it? Henry James, in a trenchant phrase, said that he lacked "the really *grasping* vision" and more recently! Richard Chase has added that Howells was a writer "always making great refusals." Both of these remarks strike home; but why, one wonders, does Howells finally not "grasp?" Why, despite his admirable intelligence and deep knowledge of American life, does he seem to evade the very insights to which his own work drives him? And is it not possible that critics have done him small service by backing the stuffier, more imposing and sociological novels like *The Rise of Silas Lapham* and *A Hazard of New Fortunes*, instead drawing attention to the more personal and psychological novels like *The Son of Royal Langbirth*, *The Vacation of the Kelwyns* and *The Landlord of Lion's Head*?

Such questions Brooks neither asks nor answers; indeed, a sign of his true interests is that the index to the book, though it parades a good many half-forgotten names, does not even include Howells' novels. What it comes down to is a refusal of the critical responsibility – something very different, I hasten to add, from the ponderosities of the academic journals.

It bears thinking about. A few years ago, the poet John Berryman, in a casual conversation, directed my attention to a first-rate chapter about Harvard manners in *The Landlord of Lion's Head*. Since I had not read the book and enjoyed it when I did, I felt grateful to Berryman: he was doing, in an informal way, the critic's job. In the whole of Van Wyck Brooks' volume I have not found any comparable help or stimulation or guidance. And the trouble is not that Brooks lacks the ability; it is that, in recent years, he has acquired a positive distaste for ideas, for rigor of statement and analysis, indeed, for anything but the view of literary history as a precious family album in which the photographs grow faded and the inscriptions blurred.

"AT DARTMOUTH *one student walked up in the heat of the question period to within a foot of me, and as he began to question me, his voice broke with emotion: 'Do you mean to say that there are circumstances under which you would make war if it meant death for a hundred million men, women, and children?' 'Yes,' I said. The audience gasped. I gasped too, but they didn't hear me, and that is one of the difficulties. Students know nothing, have no intimation of, the horrors of pacifism.*"

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Toward Public School Reform

by Christopher Jencks

A half-century from now, when the present generation of school children is writing the history of its mis-education, the present verbal warfare about education may be regarded with the same bemused pride that we now accord the Battle of New Orleans. Certainly the Faculty Club pundits and newspaper sages who denounce the "frills" and "sideshows" in contemporary high schools have much the same plodding ignorance and ability to ignore reality that must have characterized the British Regulars who marched against General Jackson. Admiral Rickover would make a fine counterpart for a 19th-Century English imperialist, if he were only a bit stupider. On the other side, like the Tennessee volunteers who shot down the British from behind cotton bales, the educationists have defended the status quo more by hiding behind immovable facts than by offering any orderly or cogent counter-proposals. And of course both sides are oblivious to the fact that history had settled this battle by 1929.

The Child, the Parent and the State
by James Bryant Conant
(Harvard; $3.50)

The great contribution of James Bryant Conant to contemporary literature on the schools has been the realization that the war between professors of education and professors of the "liberal" arts is irrelevant to the current problems of public schools. Dr. Conant's latest book opens with this remark:

> "When someone writes or says that what we need today in the United States is to decide first what we mean by the word 'education', a sense of distasteful weariness overtakes me. I feel as though I were starting to see a badly scratched film of a poor movie for the second or third time. In such a mood, I am ready to define education as what goes on in schools and colleges."

Mr. Conant's approach to reform, then, is to pick out the schools which are doing a good job (a much easier task in practice than in theory), and to try to make the other schools more like these distinguished models (a much easier task in theory than in practice).

This Practical Program for School Reform was outlined in *The American High School Today* to which the new volume *The Child, the Parent, and the State* serves as a companion. The new book consists of about a hundred pages of lectures and as many footnotes, which defend the program of *The American High School Today* against criticism from both "progressive" stand-patters and "traditional" reactionaries.

Yet the recommendations of *The American High School Today* require little defense. They are the embodiment of logic. For example:

Major Premise: Every bright child, no matter where he is born, should have the opportunity to get a first-rate academic education which prepares him for a good college and a professional career. This means that every high school must provide four years of English, math, and foreign languages, and three years of history and science.

First Minor Premise: In typical American schools with typical teachers, only about one child in six can handle advanced math, physics, chemistry, and foreign languages. To teach these subjects to children who lack brains or interest is to teach the children to hate education, and to slow down the whole class to a snail's pace.

Second Minor Premise: Given the mood of the American public any effort to hold classes for fewer than fifteen students will be discarded as prohibitively expensive.

Conclusion: In order to provide instruction in advanced academic subjects for the fifteen percent who need it, every high school must have a graduating class of at least 100 students. This means consolidating 17,000 of the nation's 21,000 high schools so that they meet this minimum standard.

Or again:

Major Premise: In order to teach sci-

Postmortem of a Solon: State Level

There is his torso to take apart,
the portentous head to cut in slices,
the prayerful knees to unbend, and his
reprehensible toes – holding a wreath for death –
and his silenced tongue to unflex.

He acted a legion of formalities,
and set astir a constant hornet-nest
to the tune and glee of immortality;
my left hand must shake my right hand in
cool congratulations that he is dead.

My hands were not lifted against him
and accord him a benediction in this
bated land on which he imputed inferences,
but let me sparkle my pittance of relief,
and for once leave his eyes untroubled.

Never again to be mortified, and divested
of proper severity, his mellow throat
only funnels down to the defections we
dared to be there, though his fulsome soul waves
adieu with a borrowed handkerchief.

David Cornel DeJong

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ence properly, you must have teachers who know their subject. This means a physicist, a chemist, and a biologist on the faculty. The school which tries to combine these functions gets men who know only a little about each subject, and not enough to teach with any enthusiasm or imagination.

Minor Premise: A school with fewer than 500 students cannot find enough work to keep three scientists busy.

Conclusion: Schools with less than 500 students (*i.e.* schools graduating classes of less than 100) should consolidate to achieve this minimum in order to hire competent science teachers (not to mention competent mathematics teachers, English teachers, history teachers, and language teachers, none of whom can be master of his own field when expected to teach two or three others as well).

With such logic one can hardly quarrel. And yet it seems to lead nowhere. Schools are not consolidating. Able students are not taking academic subjects. Languages are not being taught in large enough doses to achieve mastery. All across America, the schools are much as they were a decade, or even a generation ago. A few bold experimental programs in education are being launched – into a sea of indifference which tends to minimize their triumph.

If you were to find fault with Mr. Conant it should be on the ground that he stirs no enthusiasm from his readers. He speaks always and insistently of the Russians – of rockets, and engineers, and the Cold War. These are topics of which the great American public is profoundly weary. Nobody can stir up any enthusiasm for competing with the Russians, not when balanced budgets and that second TV set are at stake. In the matter of missiles, such apathy may prove disastrous. In the matter of schools, it may be a sign of good sense. The reason for educating children is not to enlarge the "national brainpower pool." People are not "resources." We are not turning out students to become interchangeable parts in the Cold War machine, and every parent who resists such efforts, by apathy or hostility, deserves two cheers. If Mr. Conant instead defended his program on the grounds that the present school system is needlessly depriving millions of Americans of the chance to live the good life, he would perhaps animate a more enthusiastic public response.

The Man He Chose to Be

by Katherine Garrison Chapin

The landscape of contemporary poetry is constantly changing, widening to include new perspectives, or filling in with fresh growth in the immediate foreground. The changes relate both to a conception of poetry itself and the variety of its relation to individual writers. Modern poetry may be a form of therapy for one poet, or the reflection in his Freudian mirror for another, or for a third . . .

Summer Knowledge
New and Selected Poems; 1938-1958
by Delmore Schwartz
(Doubleday; $4.95)

> The motion of meaning and
> the meaning of morning and
> the mastery of meaning

as Delmore Schwartz says in "The Kingdom Poetry," one of the new poems in his collection, *Summer Knowledge*. He gives his kingdom the full praise of a Hebrew canticle, or a Homeric hymn:

> The heights of poetry are like the
> exaltation of the mountains.
> It is the consummation of consciousness in the country of the morning!

This poem – not one of the most successful – names but does not create the quality of poetry or its fresh flowering which *Summer Knowledge* as a whole exemplifies. But it is part of the mood of releasing exuberance, of mellow line, of ripe image. The poet has risen from a certain moribund view of existence found in his earlier books, and like his Lazarus "thrusting aside the cold sweated linens," looks "for the first time, wonderstruck."

Delmore Schwartz with the sure technique of his lyrics – "Poems in Imitation of the Fugue" – has developed a further rhythmical, almost incantatory style. "At a Solemn Musick" has form and feeling, breadth and compression. It carries the overtones of an orchestra:

> Now May the chief musician say:
> *"Lust and emulation have dwelt among us*
> *Like barbarous kings: have conquered us:*
> *Have inhabited our hearts: devoured and ravished*
> *– With the savage greed and avarice of fire –*
> *The substance of pity and compassion."*
>
> Now may all the players play:
> *"The river of the morning, the morning of the river*
> *Flow out of the splendor of the tenderness of surrender."*
>
> Now may the chief musician say:
> *"Nothing is more important than summer."*

The apotheosis of summer in a wealth of sensuous images – summer that is the "ripeness of withness," the "dark and falling summer, rumorous of rain," "the mounting summer, brilliant and ominous" – holds the secret meaning of love and the knowledge of death as birth in the "inexhaustible vitality and immortality of the earth."

> Summer Knowledge is green Knowledge, country knowledge, the knowledge of growing and the supple recognition of the fulness and the fatness and the roundness of ripeness.

This yielding to sensuous expression indicates that some ice-bound spring of feeling has been released. But there is danger in over-ripeness, as well as delight. In a few of the new poems Schwartz lets the happy wanderings of his imagination become too musically articulate and repetitive. But he has not lost his ironic, incisive view of character and events, or his strong philosophic vein. He writes of great men – of Vivaldi and Baudelaire, of Shakespeare, Seurat and Lincoln. His salute to Shakespeare is witty and intense. The Freudian portrait of Lincoln holds us in spite of its theme. And in his "Seurat's Sunday Afternoon along the Seine," composed of chromatic points of thought, remembrance, and color, as delicate as the painter's pointillism, he

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conveys a complete realization of the French scene; "making a mosaic of the little dots into a mural of the splendor of order."

Schwartz matured in an age of literary self-consciousness influenced by the prevailing winds of doctrine without falling into any of the fashionable ruts. Although a product of contemporary values and techniques he is not a part of any esoteric coterie. Like Baudelaire he has a sense of his own age and its impact – depressions and war, the Marxist doctrines and Freudian theories, an urban life with its background of fervent Jewish culture. All these have kept his poetry from the dryness of intellectual abstraction.

It is tempting to speculate about a poet's influences. From Greek philosophy and aesthetics Schwartz received more than a mere "cast of thought." His absorption in Shakespeare enriched his language and gave him an insight into character to which modern psychology has added. Like other contemporary poets he accepts T. S. Eliot's dictum that mature poets steal but that "good poets make it into something better, or at least something different." Schwartz' Shakespearean lines crop up unexpectedly:

> That time of year you may in me behold
> When Christmas trees are blazing on the walk,
> Raging against stale snow and the cold . . .

or

> *Ripeness is all: the rest is silence.*
> Love is all; we are such stuff as love has made us and our little life . . .

These paraphrases belong with his thought; and if they echo in our minds something well remembered, we hear them with new ears.

"Coriolanus and His Mother," the long poem from an earlier book included here, is an example of Schwartz' Shakespearean heritage and his own originality. He sees the tragedy essentially as a mother-son complex, and his poem is an analysis done with sympathy and occasional brash humor. The story of Shakespeare's play is narrated as a dramatic performance, viewed by an audience which includes five great ghosts. The Jews (Freud and Marx), the Greek (Aristotle), the Germans (Beethoven and perhaps Kant) are seated in a box. With the poet, who is a sort of master of ceremonies, these dignitaries interpret and comment as the scenes unfold. They watch Coriolanus in his pride and weakness, the shifting play of the Roman mob, the hero's emotions of exile – he was alone "he had only his sense of hatred . . . only this passion to occupy the lucid day . . . alone with his own smell, the only one that did not offend him." Coriolanus refuses to return to Rome or yield to the pleadings of mother, or wife, or child:

> O I will stand as stiff and staunch as stone
> As if a man were author of himself
> I will be author of myself alone!

and when he is killed at the end, Aristotle adds:

> . . . Man's will is free
> This man became the man he chose to be!

As early as 1940 Conrad Aiken, in one of his perceptive criticisms, deploring a trend of the scholiasts who were making of poetry "a juiceless, joyless and loveless thing," praised Schwartz by contrast saying that "for subtlety and richness and brilliance his 'Coriolanus' is the most exciting long poem to appear in more than a decade." One can only add that time has ripened its meaning and the study of a man's tragedy of indecision still moves us.

Unlike the average "selected" book of poems *Summer Knowledge* has a distinctive unity; the verses move in a completed development, beginning with the poet's early preoccupation with the relation between dream and reality, and carried forward to a fulfillment of his perception. Happily a wide variety among the earlier poems are included here; the acrid drama of "Prothalamion," the wry humor of his self-analysis in "The Heavy Bear Who Goes With Me," and the delicately moving love poem:

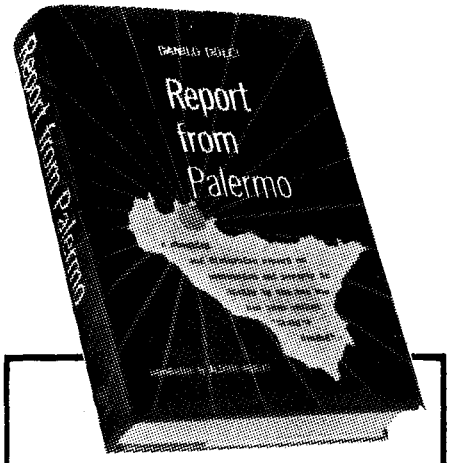
> Will you perhaps consent to be
> My many branchéd small and dearest tree?

As poet-critic Schwartz was once much concerned with the isolation of the poet from contemporary life, of the break between intellect and sensibility. "The intellect" he wrote, "finds unrea-

Some surprising Sicilians speak their minds in

Report from Palermo

by **DANILO DOLCI**
introduction by
ALDOUS HUXLEY



In this remarkable book, some forty-two Sicilian men and women—snail-gatherers, shepherds, farmers, peddlers, prostitutes, smugglers, communists and thieves – tell in their own vigorous language the compelling stories of their lives and bring before the world the age-old struggle against poverty and corruption in Sicily.

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sonable what the sensibility and imagination cannot help but accept," thus making a breach between poetic knowledge and the perception of objective truth. In this volume one cannot help feeling that the poet has successfully bridged that gap, the prodigal – if prodigal he was – has come home, has entered into his own kingdom. He is free to come and go, as he chooses. He has found his own place within the poetic essence in the ripeness of his talents.

By the World Possessed

by Donald Cook

Malcolm is a surrealistic parable about a child growing up. More specifically, a child from a genteel, old-fashioned, and apparently Southern tradition, whose abandonment by his father tosses him into the modern city, with its full complement of drifters, exploiters, humbugs and madmen. Malcolm, having no preparation for all this, politely accepts everyone at face value. His almost schizophrenic detachment (he is still above all waiting for his father) prevents him from developing a strong interest in anyone, so that his very isolation permits him a total matter-of-fact honesty. He becomes the darling of a weird group of loosely related people in a nameless American city, whose members tear themselves to pieces trying to use him and to possess him.

Malcolm
by James Purdy
(Farrar, Straus and Cudahy; $3.95)

One of Purdy's most insistent themes is that the helped is the victim of the helper. We meet Malcolm sitting on a bench outside a hotel, where "his waiting look was so pronounced that nobody felt like interrupting." His clothes, "of the most expensive stuff – too expensive for the depleted epoch they were in," bespeak old lost dreams, and although his silence "discouraged even those who were moved by his solitariness," his puzzling *expectancy* creates an unspoken demand upon society, the reader – somebody somewhere – to move in on this boy. And who, in the impersonal city, should take this step, but Mr. Cox the astrologer and manipulator of spent lives. Even this behavioral racketeer is put off by Malcolm's diffidence since "asking questions was not precisely his forte; it was giving answers which was his life's work." But he starts Malcolm off to the work of being born to the world, by giving him a series of addresses.

Malcolm goes through four main "addresses," and meets the characters who begin to teach him the adult world: A Negro undertaker (who insists he is a "mortician" and finally rejects Malcolm on the grounds that Malcolm cannot accept "his racial strain"); a midget who is offended by Malcolm's question: "Are you a dwarf or a midget"; the Girards, a millionaire couple who want to adopt Malcolm; and Eloisa, a painter who wants to do Malcolm's portrait. For a time Malcolm moves into Eloisa's establishment, to discover that it is a brothel of the old-fashioned Southern variety, complete with jazz-band. When the midget protests, Cox says to him: "There you go again, with your lower-middle-class prejudices coming out. Everybody has to begin somewhere, and Malcolm is beginning."

All these people get involved in a wild struggle for Malcolm who gets sleepy at moments of crisis.

The book's turning point comes with the Girard's attempts to adopt Malcolm, which degenerate into open competition between husband and wife for exclusive possession of him, resulting in the destruction of the marriage. In a greenhouse in the city's horticultural gardens, Mr. Girard (his first name is also Girard) bids for Malcolm's allegiance. But Malcolm is abandoned there as Mr. Girard goes off to pursue his remarriage plans, and Malcolm, waiting again, is turned out when the greenhouse closes.

Now for the first time Malcolm meets people his own age. A Negro motorcyclist picks him up and brings him to a special clubhouse of "contemporaries," where he falls in love, plans to be married, is tattooed (his bride-to-be, a pop singer who has been married several times, has given instructions to "mature him up just a little"). Malcolm does new things, makes cooing sounds and cries, for the first time. The child who seemed old before his time is becoming younger. His speech shifts from a polite, stilted formality to the jazzy, hep, colloquial idiom of the teenager.

"Malcolm and Melba were married in Chicago." For the first time a place is named. But it is too late. In a nightclub Malcolm sees a man he thinks is his father, only to be brutally rejected by him, in a scene which is one of Purdy's characteristic blends of poignancy and pathology. Malcolm's hair turns white. He dies while his wife is enjoying herself with the Cuban valet acquired on their honeymoon.

Now I have recounted all this as if to suggest that the tale plods along as a case history. Not at all. There is a deft touch here which is alternately bewildering and very funny. As with Nathanael West, casual descriptions and chance remarks carry enormous connotations. There are turns which seem to

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lead nowhere, yet emerge as having been everywhere:

"What a nice title," Malcolm said. "Is that you naked on the cover?"

Jerome smiled and touched Malcolm lightly on the ear.

From upstairs came the thick rich tones of the sax and the bass.

"Do you dig that music, Malcolm?" Jerome kept his mouth very close to Malcolm as he said this.

Malcolm half-smiled.

"I don't read very much," Malcolm explained, handing the book back to Jerome.

Malcolm put his hand slowly to the place on his ear where Jerome had touched him.

"What was that for?" Malcolm said.

"Look, Malcolm," Jerome said, "I know you make a point of being dumb, but you're not that dumb."

Just then the music upstairs stopped, and Jerome hastened away from Malcolm and sat down on the floor and began talking very fast about how he was a writer and was now finishing a study of delinquency among minors.

There is the matter of fact blending of pathology and civilized niceties:

"What do you know of real suffering? What if your husband was in a different woman's bed each evening, and then upon his arriving home at last had time only for a business talk on the trans-atlantic cables. Contemplate that for suffering."

"I know, Madame Girard, your marriage is a difficult one, but consider – "

"Consider you! You have your jazz musicians. You have a loving, though idiotic, husband. . . . Now you have Malcolm. I have nothing."

"Madame Girard, this phone is simply weighting me down, and as a result I am drinking too much. I am not a heavy drinker like you, and as you know my brands are not imported. I won't be able to paint unless you hang up and then you will have no portrait."

"Unless you give me permission to at least come to your home, I vow I will kill myself," Madame Girard informed her.

"Madame Girard," Eloisa said, "suicide is your own decision. I will not respond to your customary threats."

There is a zany use of "arty" clichés:

"Can any husband looking on that skin feel love?" Madame Girard appealed to the entire room.

There was a long silence.

"Answer my question" Madame Girard commanded Eloisa. "As an artist you are obliged to answer."

There is a great deal of depravity and perversity in *Malcolm* and the remarkable thing about the book is the author's ability to touch upon these things with gentleness and wit, and thereby to provide new illuminations. Each of us has his compassions, and his revulsions, too; Purdy plays with the delicate balance of these sentiments, not by arguing one cause in this balance, but by revealing the boundaries of our feeling.

Purdy calls his work "a comic novel." As such, he treats its themes by indirection, and one could talk about it in any number of ways: as the story of the transition of a traditional, graceful society to urban other-directedness, with its premium on the premature adulthood of adolescents out to exploit some market; or as a story of the change from a society in which males have power to one in which females run the show and males sneak their pleasure offstage. Fragments of themes rise up as from a dream: shifting race-lines, class-lines, sex-role boundaries.

The most pointed depiction of the effects of all these changes upon youth comes when Malcolm gets tattoed as a necessary "puberty rite" preceding marriage. The tattoo artist must be bribed, and the whole thing is done covertly, because "the laws" prohibit tattooing before the age of eighteen.

This book pulls together many of the themes of Purdy's shorter works, and prunes out some merely indulgent morbidities which sometimes mar them. I think it may be a good sign that an American novel of adolescence should be done in the comic mode. Realism has documented the materials clinically enough, but it cannot get outside the area of its own subject and get a structural perspective; it is always in danger of becoming melodramatic through identification with its protagonists. Purdy's work has a marvelous freshness.

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THEATER

Two for the Miracle

The Miracle Worker
by William Gibson
(The Playhouse)

Near the conclusion of *Two for the Seesaw*, the rambunctious street urchin, Gittel Mosca, is gently informed that "after the verb to love, to help is the sweetest in the tongue." William Gibson, setting aside more serious concerns to anatomize the sweeter, softer virtues, has thus far dedicated his dramatic career to the definition and conjugation of these two verbs.

For, like the play which preceded it, *The Miracle Worker* – written with the same wit and mounted with equal competence – is essentially a two-character work about the relationship of kindness to love. The time has been set back to the 1880's, the seesaw has been freighted from New York to Alabama, and precariously balanced upon it now are an afflicted child and a 20-year-old Irish girl from Boston; yet, the two plays are clearly lifted from the same trunk. In outline, both works are about the redemption and education of a helpless little ragamuffin by a more experienced, vaguely guilty mentor which results in a mutual strengthening of character. Here the ragamuffin is not a Jewish dancer from the Bronx, but the child Helen Keller, while the helping hand belongs not to the disconsolate divorcé, Jerry Ryan, but to Helen's gifted teacher, Annie Sullivan. On the other hand, everybody's motivation remains constant. Annie's conscience-pangs over her desertion of her dying brother, for example, recall Jerry's uneasiness over his desertion of his wife, and both expiate their guilt through "help," unswerving dedication to the welfare of another. To press the parallel further, both plays rely excessively on extra-dramatic devices: *Two for the Seesaw* on a persistently clanging telephone, *The Miracle Worker* on a garrulous loudspeaker. And, despite the excellence of the writing, both plays impress me less as dramas of conflict than as socio-psychological essays on the subject of interpersonal relations.

The Miracle Worker documents a historical occurrence: Helen Keller's transformation from a hopelessly untidy, aggressive, isolated, willful animal, possessed only with a sense of touch, into a disciplined, well-groomed human being about to enter the world of languages. The factual story contains only two disclosures of a dramatic nature. Since one of them (that Helen has become deaf and blind from an infant disease) is expended in the opening moments, the bulk of the play consists of Gibson's filler. Some of this filler is purely theatrical: Helen and Annie engage in what are surely the most epic brawls ever staged – in the course of these highly entertaining improvisations, ink is eaten, food is spit, faces are slapped, plates are broken, water is thrown, and general havoc prevails. Some filler is designed for edification: Annie lectures Helen's parents on the dangers of permissive child-rearing (Helen has been badly spoiled), and, in an ill-defined subplot, a cowardly son learns at last to command the love and respect of his stern father by asserting himself. It is Gibson's penchant for instructing his characters in "mature" behavior which disturbs me most. In common with most playwrights of the modern school, love operates in his plays with all the intensity of an ideology, and the only development his people are permitted is a more accurate apprehension of the proper way to show affection.

In consequence, no event occurs in *The Miracle Worker* which is not somehow identified with love. Take the last scene, the other factual disclosure of the story and the "miracle" towards which everything moves. From history, we know that Helen Keller suddenly made the connection between words and things essential for learning language while pumping water from a well. On the stage, this discovery issues in a perfect orgy of embraces. The child pumps the water, grunts out the word, scurries back and forth along the length of the stage, rings a bell wildly, embraces her mother, kisses her once cold, now loving father, and finally offers her love to Annie whom she has hated throughout the action. As for Annie, finally permitted to express the affection she has purposely withheld, she spells out on the child's hand, "I love Helen . . . forever and ever," and the curtain descends.

What is one to say about this? Mr. Gibson's motives are undoubtedly impeccable, his heart is rooted in the proper place, and, though he dances on the edge of Sentiment's soggy slough, he rarely falls in. In its homiletic genre, the play is solid species, and it has been given an admirable production. Arthur Penn has conducted the action with spontaneity, truth, and flow; George Jenkins has provided a functional, multi-story set; and the acting – in a season plagued by miscasting – is all fine, particularly by Anne Bancroft, now a top notch comic-pathetic actress with a mime's expert control of her neck, hands, and facial muscles, and by Patty Duke, a sniffing, sniveling, staggering, moaning Helen who can transform a well-ordered room into Hiroshima in a matter of seconds. But I am afraid I am churlish enough not to respond very strongly to Human Documents, or Testaments to the Human Spirit, or even to Profound Convictions that Man will Endure and Prevail, unless they are accompanied by a good deal more grit, a good deal more mystery, and a great deal more information about the dark places of human motivation than we are given here.

I say this with regret because, although his craft is still a little shaky, Gibson possesses substantial literary and dramatic gifts, and an integrity of the highest order. In addition, he brings to his works authentic compassion, wit, bite, and humor, and a lively, literate prose style equalled by few American dramatists. (Annie's moving tribute to words,

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while appropriate for a character concerned with communication, is clearly a reflection of Gibson's own love affair with the English language.) Since Gibson is one of a handful of theater writers who does not have to apologize for his dialogue, he can afford a faithful production which does not have to apologize for the play.

But his weakness for inspirational themes, if not suppressed, will inevitably doom him to the second rank. That Gibson has intelligence, tough-mindedness, and a capacity for indignation, nobody who reads *The Seesaw Log* will deny, but his dramas persistently follow the safer, more familiar road of routine wisdom and spiritual uplift. Like most dramatists of his generation, Gibson confuses playwriting with psychological counseling; unlike most of them, he is capable of much more. His potential is large but it will never be fulfilled until he can find more compelling sources for his view of man than the cheery chapbooks of Horney and Fromm, until he can examine the more dangerous truths which lie beneath the comforting surface of the skin.

ROBERT BRUSTEIN

ART

Form and Figure in Sculpture

In the literature of sculpture in this century Form and Figure have become one more reincarnation of Yin and Yang or Mutt and Jeff. Two sculpture shows now in New York prove two things about the celebrated opposition. In the first place, these opposites attract; in the second, form can't really get along without figure any better than figure can get along without form.

Form-figure discussions through the century have created the assumption that form can hardly exist in sculpture until figure has been disposed of. The human figure in wood or stone is too heavy with irrelevant human memories and associations to permit the pure contemplation of pure form. Only when you throw out the youths and maidens can you rest your eyes and your soul in the Platonic vision of cylinders and cones, spheres and polyhedrons. By and large, through the more-than-40 years of sculpture on view at the Whitney, Wiliam Zorach has been intently concerned with the human figure; by and large, in the 25 years of sculpture shown at the Galerie Chalette, Barbara Hepworth has followed form.

While this comparison is perfectly true, it is also highly misleading in regard to Zorach's sculpture, for it implies that Zorach's sculptured figures are necessarily weak or even totally lacking in perception and creation of form. On the contrary, the inescapable impression made by the works themselves is that of an always important, sometimes overriding, sensitivity to form. At least three elements are always in dynamic relationship to one another in Zorach's work. These are the nature of the material itself, which provides one kind of form and which is never obscured; the ideas and emotions of the sculptor as expressed in the manner of using his chisel; and the object from the outside world, often the female nude, which takes on a new existence in the sculpture but which does not cease to exist simply because sculptor and spectator can both perceive volumes and forms composing the figure.

There is, it need hardly be said, not a figure in the show that could be produced by making a plaster cast of a living human body, yet the living human body is very much present. We recognize its continued existence; we recognize the essential differences, both in the material and in the form. It is, indeed, the recognition of likeness and difference, simultaneously present, that gives us joy in looking at sculpture; it is what Aristotle was talking about as the "imitation of life." The compression of time and the artificial ordering of events in his "human actions" are the soul of the imitation in Aristotelian drama; they are analogous to the changes undergone by the human body and soul when that body and soul are made into sculpture by Zorach.

An early piece, "Floating Figure," 1922, is a dream-like representation of a reclining nude. The wood is there not only in the beautifully polished material but in the very shape of the figure, at once woman and wood. Present no less is the ministering care of the sculptor, both as the eye that originally perceived the woman in the mahogany and as the hands that have worked skillfully to make her visible at no loss to the wood.

This thoughtful preservation of the material's own life is carried even further in some of the smaller animal

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

André Schiffrin, *who studied at Cambridge University, is now doing graduate work at Columbia.* Irving Howe's *book on Faulkner will be published next spring in a new, revised edition.* David Cornel DeJong *is the author of one book of poems,* Across the Board. Katherine Garrison Chapin's *new book of poems will be published later this year by the University of Minnesota.* Donald Cook *is a research psychologist.*

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pieces in the show. "Sea Gull" and "Frog" are like pieces of stone worn by the sea. In such work there is always an echo of the old and valid idea of the form being "liberated" from the stone. The crouching positions, the bent arms and knees of the human figures preserve the mass of the stone and transmute its weight into the gravity and enduring quality of man. In the numerous Mother and Child pieces, in the family groups and especially in "The Embrace," of 1933, this preservation of the mass goes far beyond the desirable salute to the material and becomes a fundamental perception about the nature of human ties. By making the single block into two figures and still hanging on to the original mass, Zorach testifies to the unity achieved in love, maternal, familial, sexual.

The material is used in another way to enhance the vision of the feminine that is Zorach's. "Torso," in Labrador granite, is a solid symmetry from shoulder to thigh, but the solidity is dissolved in the dazzle cast by the million lights made by the chisel in the stone. Another torso, "Victory," 1945, is more delicate and modestly stresses its delicacy in the subtle veining and coloring of the French marble.

Barbara Hepworth, in a gallery full of forms, mostly either mathematical or "organic" in the sense of being free abstractions, demonstrates clearly the expectation we still have of finding in art some reflection of our lives. The only emotional response in the exhibition is found in those pieces that bear some resemblance to visual reality. "Sea Form," in bronze, reaches you at once because it does suggest a giant shell from the floor of the sea, curled in upon itself, pierced with oval openings.

Without this resemblance, Miss Hepworth's sculpture is graceful, sometimes ingenious, pure and not easy to retain. One trouble is that the vocabulary of forms in her kind of world is much more limited than that of Zorach's. Breasts and thighs are infinitely various, for which the Lord be praised. Spheres and cylinders, no matter how you slice them, are only spheres and cylinders. For this reason the Hepworth show is full of echoes not of life nor even of mathematics, but of her illustrious predecessors: Brancusi, Gabo, Pevsner and the Arp that once through Tzara's halls . . .

Frank Getlein

Correspondence

The New Republic welcomes communications in regard to subjects of current interest. Those of 300 words or less are most suitable for publication.

If Not Adlai, Who?

Sirs:

If you *must* raise the question "If Not Adlai, Who?", (see Gerald W. Johnson, October 12), the answer is CHESTER BOWLES, WHO ELSE?

Paulia P. Weaver
Dallas, Texas

The "Facts" About Nixon

Sirs:

As as anti-Nixon liberal democrat, may I nonetheless dissent in toto to portions of William Costello's "facts" about Nixon. It appears to be a travesty against fair play as well as against the right of a man to his own good name and conscience, to turn the tables on Nixon and by innuendo attribute the "innuendo-laden style of his campaigning" to a possible fossilization of his "ethical dedication to Quakerism." In the words of Mr. Costello "no one could presume to infer" this change. But is not Mr. Costello's statement an inference itself? . . . Further, not personally knowing St. Richard Rovere, I am unable to determine whether he received his credentials to determine *ex cathedra* whether Mr. Nixon is a devout Quaker.

R. Woods
Washington, D. C.

TV: Educational Gimmick?

Sirs:

Your all-out-for-educational-television editorial of October 26 plays right into the hands of those who want TV because they think it's a cheap way to educate children. Of course, there are teachers who are bores, martinets and pedants, plus some more who haven't the faintest idea of what the world of learning is all about, and they are going to be with us as long as education attracts the poorest specimens on the college campus. Gimmicks like television only serve to put off the day when Americans must pay the price to persuade the best young people to take up teaching.

The statement that experiments sponsored by the Ford Foundation "conclusively" prove that students "learn as much or more" on TV as in the classrooms are just not true. A novel classroom gadget, like TV, will always give a temporary increase in test scores, and the extra attention that must be paid to the TV students gives them a morale boost that is denied the regular class.

Last of all, don't accuse the pro-TV people of being inarticulate. Teachers and public have been brainwashed for the last ten years about the wonders of TV, and it is only in the last two years that the let's-not-get-carried-away articles have been prominent. Alexander Stoddard of the Ford Foundation says that schools can save $500,000,000 a year with TV, and by a neat coincidence, the TV manufacturers association sees a classroom market exactly that large between now and 1966. There will be many legitimate uses for TV in education, but broadcasting canned lessons to save money is not one of them.

John J. Bowen
Orland Park, Illinois

The Would-Be Jews

Sirs:

In your issue of September 28, 1959, Robert Graves ("The Would-Be Jews") declares of the San Nicandrians that "under Rabbinical law they could not, of course, be accepted as Jews . . . but only as *gerim*," as one of the major reasons for the unhappiness of the San Nicandrians, causing them to leave Israel for their native Apulia. (I accept his statement as fact.)

The Talmud warned that it was a grievous sin to remind the proselyte of his ancestors or to make disrespectful remarks about them. So thoughtful, so compassionate were the feelings of the Rabbis for the *ger*, who left his family and friends to align himself with the Jewish people and their G-d.

I do wish Mr. Graves would clarify his use of "*gerim*," for apparently, it is *not* that Rabbinical law rejects the proselyte, it is rather that these *gerim* perhaps could not be accorded full ritual acceptance having rejected the Oral Law or tradition transmitted in the Talmud. Would Mr. Graves, whose

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careful use of language is to be commended, kindly clarify his use of the term, *gerim*, lest the reader be misformed.

Solomon H. Green,
Assistant Professor
Yeshiva University

Mr. Graves replies:

According to Elena Cassin, the word *gerim* was used by Jews in a neighboring settlement when talking of the San Nicandrians. Since in Israel the civil law is largely English, land law largely Turkish, and religious law wholly Talmudic – strictly enforced in questions of marriage and divorce – it was the San Nicandrian's obstinate rejection of the Talmud that made them *gerim*, as Mr. Green suggests.

Robert Graves
London

Supply and Demand

Sirs:

Mr. T.R.B. seems to have lost sight of the law of supply and demand when he writes that the US steel industry "can produce all the steel the nation needs in 10 or 11 months." If the price of steel and of all the products of which steel is an ingredient could be reduced substantially, he'd find that the nation "needs" a great deal more than it seems to need now. But we'll never solve the problems that plague our economy until we readjust the imbalances that make it impossible for 65-cent-per-hour people to pay for many hours of $3-per-hour steelworkers.

Helen Bugbee
Chicago, Illinois

The Art of Ingmar Bergman

Sirs:

In the review of Ingmar Bergman's *The Magician* (October 19) I was disappointed to find that Stanley Kauffmann had slipped into the habit of critics when presiding over Scandinavian drama: Praise him for what you *want* him to say; ignore what he is saying . . . Mr. Kauffmann assumes (as do the characters in the film) that Vogler, the magician, is a fake. But is he? Everyone wants Vogler to be a fake so that he can be easily understood: his wife wants an ordinary man she can love; the doctor wants to protect his precious scientific system against inexplicable destructive possibilities; the police chief wants protection for his comfortable bureaucracy; Mr. Kauffmann (along with the rest of us) wants the pieces to fall into the puzzle he has prepared beforehand.

Charlatans are an annoyance but no problem. Even Bergman could have drawn us a portrait of a charlatan. He obviously had no such intention. His Vogler is both genius and fake, sometimes in full possession of powers which he does not fully understand and, at other times, convinced that these powers are mere trickery.

These aspects of Bergman's art cannot safely be dismissed as hanky-panky under the midnight sun. He is not asking the great American question, "Does he or doesn't he?", but exploring a world which defies our tidy little scientific and critical categories, a world which fascinates us perhaps because we have a vague, uneasy feeling that we are living in it. Perhaps there are more things in heaven and earth than are dreamt of in our philosophy. Why not inquire about them?

Robert O'Brien
New York, N. Y.

Whitman and the Beatniks

Sirs:

The essay by Malcolm Cowley on "Whitman and the Beatniks" (October 26) was, of course, interesting, highly literate, and well-documented. However, it is not altogether entitled to the claim it makes or implies, that it is breaking new ground. Over 60 years ago, John Jay Chapman wrote:

> "In Whitman's works the elemental parts of a man's mind and the fragments of imperfect education may be seen merging together, floating and sinking in a sea of insensate egotism and rhapsody, repellent, divine, disgusting, extraordinary.
>
> "Our inability to place the man intellectually, and find a type and reason for his intellectual state, comes from this: that the revolt he represents is not an intellectual revolt. Ideas are not at the bottom of it. It is a revolt from drudgery. It is the revolt of laziness."

That last paragraph sums up the beatniks with more incisive clarity than any contemporary critic has been able to achieve.

Howard N. Meyer
Rockville Center, N. Y.

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C. C. Wilson, Director Danville, Illinois

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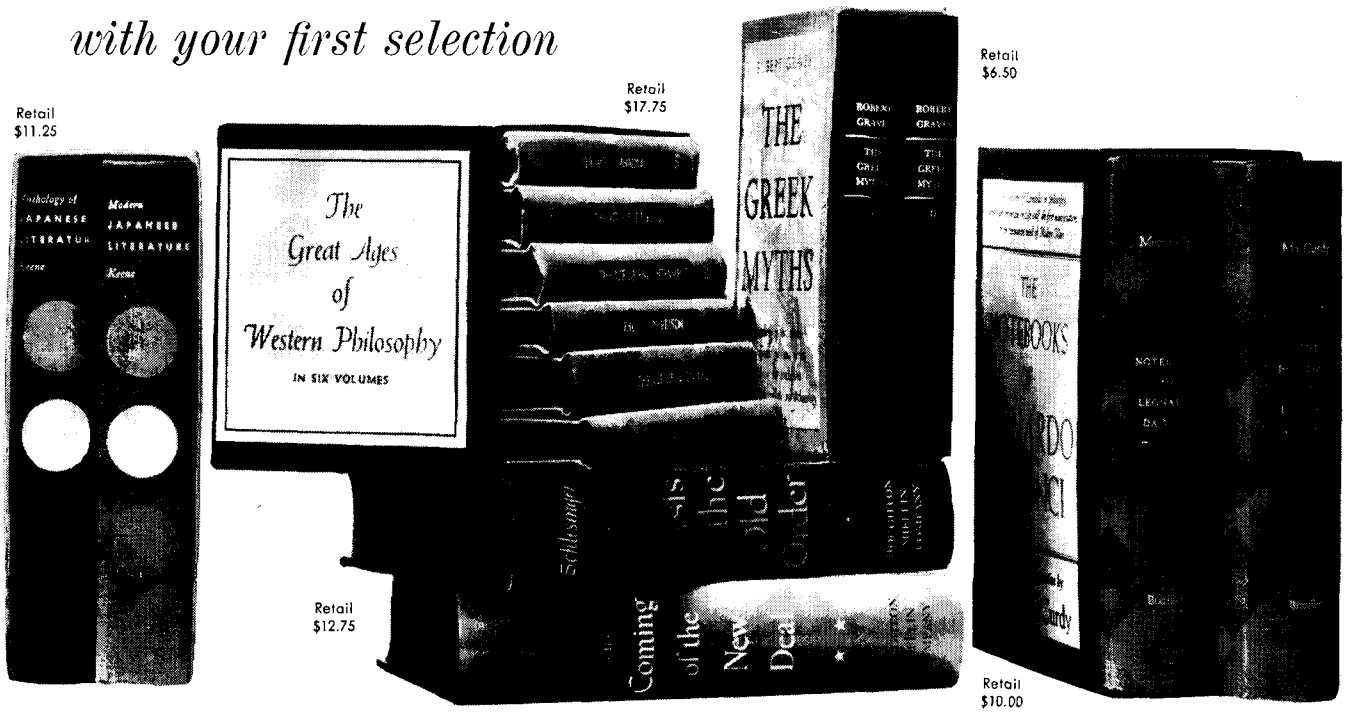

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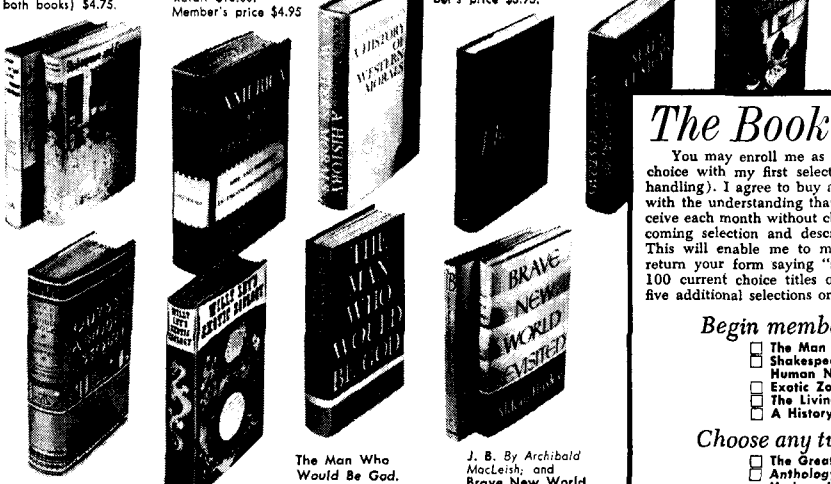

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